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ABSTRACT

A collection of seven papers developed for the 1982 Summer Institute of Linguistics of the Linguistic Society of the Philippines address aspects of the institute's research topic, the interface of the morphosyntax and discourse structure in languages of the Philippines and Sabah. They include three papers on general concerns of discourse types in a given language and four concerning hortatory discourse. They are: "Verb Tense/Aspect in Tatana Discourse" (Inka Pekkanen); "Eliminating the Hocus-Pocus of Focus in Sangire" (Arthur Lightbody); "Intersecting Functions of Topic Markers in Sindangen Subanen" (Felicia Brichoux); "Mitigation in a Tiruray Sermon" (Steve Doty); "Hortatory Strategy in Subanun II" (Robert Brichoux); "Do As I Say: A Study of Selected Features of Hortatory Discourse in Eastern Kadazan" (Hope M. Hurlbut); and "Hortatory Mitigation: The Case of the Camouflaged Backbone" (Ross Errington). (MSE)

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STUDIES IN PHILIPPINE LINGUISTICS

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INTRODUCTION

Robert E. Longacre
Summer Institute of Linguistics

As a linguistic research tool, the research conference is one of the most powerful tools that can be implemented. When a group of people already conversant with various languages of an area are brought together to work jointly on a restricted number of common goals a critical mass is established which can result in a chain reaction of mutual stimulus and discovery. The same people working under supervision and for the same amount of time, but isolated from each other could not achieve the same result.

Such a research conference was held at the study center of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (Nasuli, Malaybalay, Bukidnon, Philippines) for two months in the summer of 1982. The research topic was 'The Interface of the Morphosyntax and Discourse Structure in Languages of the Philippines and Sabah.' As a visiting overseas consultant I had previous experience in similar workshops in the Philippines in 1967-68, but many advances in the understanding of discourse had taken place during the intervening years. Austin Hale, a veteran at discourse analysis, shared with me the directing of the research conference. Other assisting consultants were Charles Peck (who has edited this volume), Jannette Forster, and Elmer Wolfenden, who have also written papers in their own right which are to appear elsewhere. Special acknowledgment is due to Charles Peck. Without his indefatigable labors in getting these articles into final form this volume would not have seen the light of publication.

The research topic around which the conference revolved is based on the conviction that the grammatical structure of a language, its morphology and syntax exists to facilitate discourse as communication between human beings. Thus, the morphosyntax of a language can be explained in terms of its discourse structure. But, conversely, much of the discourse structure must be explained in terms of the use of various features of the morphosyntax. In brief, the morphosyntax of a language and its discourse structure can be studied together to the mutual elucidation of both.

The papers are grouped under two heads. Those in Section I reflect more general concerns which range over several discourse types in a given language. The papers in Section II deal with hortatory discourse. All the papers of this section are concerned to some degree with mitigation of the exhortation, that is, ways to soften, disguise, or blunt a command so as to make it more socially acceptable, and hence more effective.

There was also a third group of papers dealing with narrative discourse which are scheduled to appear in a future issue of SIPL.

To look at the first section in more detail: Pekkanen's paper (Tatana of Sabah) treats of verb aspects in narrative, procedural, and expository discourse, incorporating basic insights from 'A spectrum and profile approach to discourse' (Longacre 1981).

Lightbody's paper (Sangirè), building on the previous work of other people in addition to his own investigations, deals with the vexed problem of assigning surface structure 'focus' (topic-marking by means of voice-like features in the verb, as well as in the noun phrase which is cross-referenced as 'topic' to a verb and to its clause). He is able to carry us a crucial step further than his predecessors. Felicia Brichoux, in a language which apparently suffers from having a superfluity of focus markers (Sindangan Subanun), is able to sort out markers according to discourse functions, deixis, and clause types.

The papers of the second section reflect the special focus of interest and excitement during the research conference: hortatory discourse. Here the tie-in with social factors is inescapably close. Doty's paper (Tiruray) classifies commands as direct or indirect, explicit or implicit, and hidden. Brichoux's paper, which covers some 15 hortatory discourses in Subanun, is a follow-up of an earlier joint paper with Hale, but breaks fresh ground in relation to the integration of the topic-line with the line of exhortation, and—necessarily—pays attention to the mitigation of commands as well. Hurlbut's paper (Eastern Kadazan of Sabah) uses a Doty-like scheme to classify mitigation, and like Brichoux and Errington, goes a bit into the paragraph structure of the texts that they analyze.

The Errington article is one of the meatiest in the volume, and quite consistently based on Hale's framework, which is in some ways interestingly different from my own.

Robert E. Longacre
Dallas, June 1983

VERB TENSE/ASPECT IN TATANA DISCOURSE

Inka Pekkanen
Summer Institute of Linguistics

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0. Introduction

In order to understand how a language works as a whole, one needs to study chunks bigger than isolated sentences. The purpose of this paper is to compare narrative, procedural, and explanatory discourses in Tatana[1] as to their use of verb tense/aspect. Verb tense/aspect is significant in distinguishing discourse types. In narrative discourse, mainline events are expressed in timeless and completive aspects. Procedural discourse is characterized by noncompletive aspect forms. Explanatory discourse differs considerably from both in that the most static verb forms and nonverbal clauses convey the mainline information.

The narrative texts used for analysis were two folktales plus a legend. The procedural texts were about a traditional wedding and a religious ceremony. The explanatory texts dealt with a number of ceremonies and an evaluation of the time of Japanese occupation.

Longacre (1981) has pointed out that 'differing forms of tense/aspect/mood/voice do not exist for nothing in a language.' He uses the term spectrum to denote a cline of information which ranges from the most dynamic elements of the story to the most static elements. The idea of such a cline has been adopted as a relevant theoretical construct for this preliminary study.

4 Verb Tense/Aspect in Tatana Discourse

1. Three discourse types

Each discourse type is used for a different purpose. This difference can be expected to show in the surface structure of discourse. The use of verb tense/aspect is one such structural manifestation. It will be described here in terms of backbone and background. Backbone consists of the events that advance the story. Background is used here as a general term referring to information that is off the backbone, such as settings, clarifications, explanations, evaluations, things that did not happen, questions, and contents of speech acts. Instead of this binary division, Jones and Jones (Jones 1979) show that multiple levels of information in discourse can be attested in several Mesoamerican languages. It seems likely that multiple levels of information also exist in Tatana, and that they correspond roughly to different rankings on clines for the various discourse types.

2. Narrative discourse

Narrative discourse is characterized by events. It is agent oriented: what the participants do is the thing that counts. Events are presented in temporal sequence. Verb forms that occur on the backbone in main clauses will be discussed first, followed by a discussion of verb forms occurring off the eventline, that is, off the backbone of narrative discourse.

2.1 Backbone verbs

Two tense/aspects of the verb occur on the eventline: timeless aspect[2] forms and completive forms. From the text material available for this study two hypotheses can be made as to the use of these verb forms. One possibility is to conclude that there are at least two levels of backbone information. On one level, timeless aspect forms express more significant events, and on the other, completive forms express ordinary events. Timeless aspect verbs express actions that especially advance the theme of the story. Thus the events that are expressed by these forms are more significant in comparison with the events that are expressed by completive forms. Completives are verbs of motion, awareness, sensation, psychological state, or verbs expressing logical consequences of preceding actions. As such they are not as dynamic as action verbs, but refer to more routine events. The other possibility is to say that only timeless aspect forms belong to the backbone, and the completives are assigned to the background (off the line) because of their lesser dynamism. The first interpretation is adopted here.

Example 1 illustrates the use of timeless aspect forms:[3]

Pokurungo'	nisio	do	anak	nisio	sumandak	sino	He enclosed it (i.e. the python) with his teenage daughter in the mosquito net.
enclose.OF	by.him	FW	child	his	maiden	there	
do toiron.							
in mosquito.net							

The verb pokurungo' is in timeless aspect form. It is used to express an event that is especially significant in the development of the plot. The python, which the girl's father was hoping would turn out to be a handsome man, eventually swallows the girl. The timeless aspect verb is translated as a past time event because of the preceding completive aspect verbs.

Example 2 illustrates the use of completive verb forms in main clauses:

I	ina'	pun	nisio	talus
person	mother	topic.particle	his	right.away

o	isio	nongibit	do	podou	nisio	sondiri,
FW	she	took	FW	boat	her	self

nogidu'.
ran.away

As for his mother, she took her own boat right away, and ran away.

The verbs nongibit and nogidu' are completive forms. They express more ordinary events. They move the story forward, but are less dynamic than timeless aspect forms. The function of completive verbs here is to move the participant, the mother, off the stage.

2.2 Background verbs

Verb forms that occur off the backbone in narrative discourse can be ranked from the more dynamic to the least dynamic (static). Timeless aspect and completive forms, which are found on the backbone, also occur in temporal margins. Completives further occur in postposed dependent clauses while noncompletives occur both in main clauses and in margins. Still lower in the cline of dynamism come stative and descriptive verbs, existential verbs, and nominal clauses.

Example 3 illustrates the use of timeless aspect form in temporal margin:

Jadi	suda	pokosodia'	buayo	dogiari,	isio
so	already	got.ready	crocodile	those	he

pun	sanang	o	nogii	guang.
topic.particle	happy	FW	??	heart

So when those crocodiles got ready, he was very happy.

The verb pokosodia' is in timeless aspect form. While the timeless aspect here refers to a significant event it is here a paraphrase of the preceding sentence. Here it functions as a temporal margin, a cohesive linkage between sentences. It is therefore considered to be off the backbone.

Example 4 illustrates the use of a completive verb in a dependent (relative) clause:

Insan odou kiaro songinan palanuk do
one.time day there.is one.class mousedeer FW

nokokito do bua' sino do subcrong bawang.
saw FW fruit there in other.side river

Once upon a time there
was a mousedeer who
saw fruit over on the
other side of the
river.

Since the completive aspect verb nokokito 'saw' occurs in a relative clause where it modifies the noun 'mousedeer', it is considered to be off the backbone.

Example 5 illustrates the use of a noncompletive verb in a preposed temporal dependent clause and in a main clause where both express nonbackbone information:

Suda isio tinanda' do sawo, bila' mongoi
already she made.OF to spouse when goes

paju', milunu isio.
bathe shed.skin he

After she was made
(his) spouse, when
(he) goes to bathe, he
sheds the skin.

The verbs mongoi and milunu are noncompletives denoting customary action.

Noncompletive forms also function in settings and with negatives in collateral information. Example 6 illustrates the use of a noncompletive form in collateral information:

Na, kaa ondogii isio mokoguli' do kulit nu
well not more he can.return to skin of

nipo i.
snake def

Well, he cannot go
back into the
snakeskin.

The verb mokoguli' is in noncompletive form.

Nonverbal clauses and stative, descriptive, and existential verbs rank lowest in narrative discourse but highest in explanatory discourse. They are therefore discussed and illustrated with examples under Section 4.1. In narrative discourse, nonverbal clauses occur as comments or evaluations. Stative and descriptive verbs function in background information. Existential verbs occur in apertures and settings, and in the case of the negative existential verb, in collateral information.

Figure 1 shows the cline of dynamism of verb forms in narrative discourse.

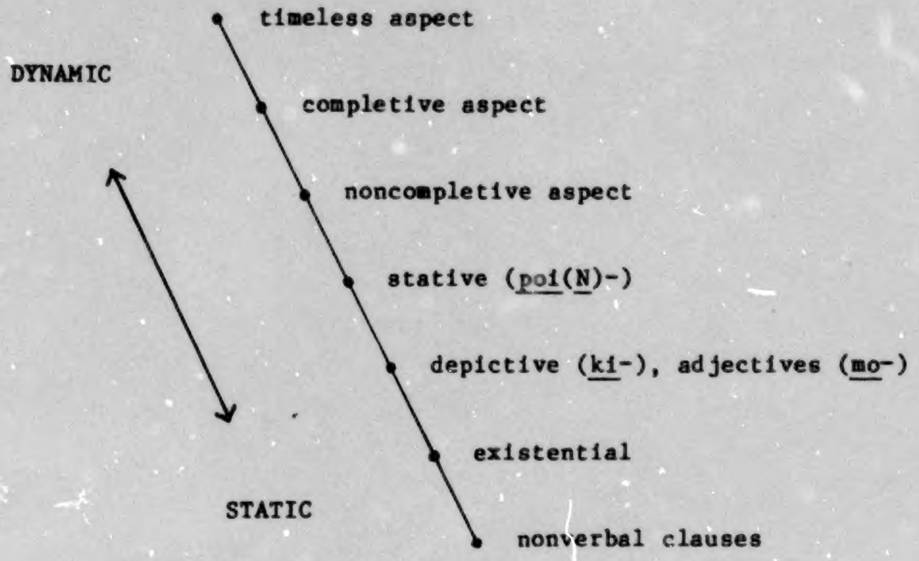
timeless aspect
DYNAMIC
completive aspect
noncompletive aspect
stative (poi(N)-)
depictive (ki-), adjectives (mo-)
existential
STATIC
nonverbal clauses

Figure 1. Ranking of verb in Tatana narrative discourse

2.3 Peak

When a person tells or writes a story he employs various devices in building up the tension until he gets to the point of maximum tension, which may be called the peak. Longacre (1981) describes peak as a 'zone of turbulence in the otherwise placid flow of discourse.' The surface structure of peak can therefore be expected to differ from the rest of the story.

In narrative discourse in Tatana various devices for marking peak are used: dialogue, longer sentences with several verbs but with no preposed temporal margins, frequent use of timeless aspect forms, and the auxiliary verb maang. Peak may also have a phonological manifestation as higher pitch and rapid pace. When a long sentence with several verbs occur at peak, the action slows down, and more details are given than in the normal course of events in the story. A narrative may have minor peaks (within component sections) and a major peak.

Example 7 illustrates peak in the folktale 'The Mousedeer and the Crocodiles':

Jadi tindak o isio do mula-mula', maangi o so step FW he FW at.first aux FW	So he stepped out first, hit the heads of those crocodiles,

nisio kotuko' ulu nu buayo dogiari do
by.him hit.OF head of crocodile those FW

miso, duo, talu, apat, kon nisio, om sambil
one two three four say by.him and while

isio do tumindak do mimbul-simbul isio
he FW step FW run he

sumoborong do nokosuborong isio do bawang
will.cross FW crossed.over he FW river

dogii.
that

'one-two-three-four',
he said, while he
stepped out and ran to
cross over, he
crossed that river.

In Example 7 tindak is a timeless aspect verb. Maangi...kotuko' consists of an auxiliary verb plus a timeless aspect form. Tumindak, mimbul-simbul, and sumoborong are noncompletive verbs, and nokosuborong is a completive verb. The sentence is considerably longer than the other sentences in the text. The action slows down and expands to include such details as counting the crocodiles' heads one by one. The peak is immediately followed by a denouement, or 'the moment of truth.' It is realized in a monologue by the hero, the mousedeer, in which he ridicules the crocodiles for their stupidity. The monologue could perhaps be treated as a didactic peak.

3. Procedural discourse

In procedural discourse the narrator tells us how to do certain things. This kind of discourse is goal oriented, since that which is done is of greater importance than those who do it. Procedural discourse is characterized by steps, which are presented in chronological sequence. Most sentences have a preposed temporal margin with backreference to the preceding sentence. A typical procedural discourse goes like this: 'First one does such-and-such. When one has done such-and-such, then one does thus-and-so. After that...' Procedural discourses contain explanatory paragraphs, which either describe some item in connection with the procedure, or explain about some aspect of it.

Verb forms used in procedural discourse are discussed here in terms of a rough division into backbone and background verbs.

The Tatana texts studied for this paper are descriptions of old customs or ceremonies. The texts do not seem to be marked for peak.

3.1 Backbone verbs

In procedural discourse the cline of dynamism for verb tense/aspect is similar to that found in narrative discourse, with the notable exception that noncompletive verbs are the most dynamic here. The particle bagu 'then', denoting succession of actions, occurs very frequently.

Example 8 illustrates the use of noncompletive forms in main clauses which give the backbone events:

1. Kotudung poyo ponyupi, tumungkas o
having.sat.down when priestess beat.gongs FW

nogii bagu. 2. Kobuoi-buoi poyo ulun
?? then having.taken.time when people

tumungkas in, mongoi bagu ulun do baloi
beat.gongs that go then people in house

singgarung, isai sudara-sudara
dance.and.offer.drinks who relatives

nisio.
his

1. When the priestess has sat down, (people) will beat gongs.
2. When the people beating gongs have taken their time, the people of the house, who are his relatives, will dance and offer drinks to each other.

The verbs tumungkas and mongoi...singgarung are in noncompletive form, the latter being a compound verb phrase. Note the use of bagu 'then' to link the successive steps of the procedure in this example.

3.2 Background verbs

Noncompletive verb forms occur also in preposed temporal margins. A conjunction suda or lapas 'after' occurs preceding the predicate, and poyo 'when' may or may not occur following the predicate.

Example 9 illustrates the use of noncompletive form in a temporal margin:

Suda mongoi kusoi in, na, suab
when go.come groom that so next.day

mindakod o dogii bagu kusoi.
go.up(term for marrying) FW that then groom

After the groom comes, the next day the groom goes up (i.e. gets married).

Completive verbs that occur in main clauses are flashbacks referring to events that have taken place prior to the step being described. Completive verbs also occur in temporal margins to denote a major step boundary.

Example 10 illustrates the occurrence of a completive verb in a flashback:

1. Na bila' suda norikot poyo odou
so when already arrived when day

kumawin, na, nongoi o papatod bala kusoi do
will.marry so went FW take side groom FW

usin, anampulu.
money sixty

So when the wedding day had arrived, so the man's side had gone to take the money there, sixty (dollars).

After this paragraph-initial sentence the description of the steps of the wedding procedure begins.

Example 11 illustrates the use of a completive verb in temporal margin:

Nakaakan poyo bagu ino,
have.eaten when then that

mogidang o bagu do idang
put.out.food.offerings FW then FW offering

mibobogo.
(term)

When (people) have eaten (they) put out the food offering of the mibobogo.

The completive form nakaakan occurs at the beginning of a paragraph.

Verbs with the prefix ko- also occur in preposed temporal margin, where ko- denotes an action that has just been completed.

Example 12 illustrates the occurrence of a verb with the prefix ko-:

Kotudung poyo ponyupi, tumungkas o
having.sat.down when priestess beat.gongs FW

nogii bagu.
?? then

When the priestess has sat down, they will beat gongs.

Explanatory paragraphs or embedded explanatory discourses that occur within procedural discourse contain verbs that are mostly stative or existential or express potentiality.

Example 13 illustrates the typical verb forms used in such an explanatory paragraph:

Kalau kissala' kusoi in, na, ukumon nu bala
if has.fault groom that so judged by side

andu', kaa makasalakoi.
bride not can.go.up

If the groom has done something wrong, then the bride's side will judge (him), (he) cannot go up (to the bride's house).

Verbs with the prefix ki-, as in kisalla' 'has a fault', are stative or depictive. The prefix maka- in makasalakoi 'can go up' denotes possibility or ability, here subject to the preceding condition.

4. Explanatory discourse

Explanatory or expository discourse comprises descriptions, explanations, evaluations, and comments. Further study of this discourse genre may necessitate the setting up of subtypes. Explanatory discourse is characterized by the predominance of static verb forms. It is therefore the most different from the other discourse types. Explanatory discourse is characterized by topic-comment sentences. The story is carried forward by topics, or themes, rather than by events that are presented in temporal sequence. Another distinguishing feature of explanatory discourse is the use of hypothetical or factual examples and illustrations (Longacre 1972:154). Conditions and their consequences constitute an essential element in this discourse type. Themes are more important than participants, and so the actor is often a general person.

As explanatory discourse is static by definition, the cline of verb ranking is reversed: what is most static in narrative discourse ranks highest in explanatory discourse. No explicit cline will be presented here as the analysis is not completed. Verb forms in explanatory discourse will be discussed here in terms of backbone, background, and peak.

4.1 Backbone

The backbone of explanatory discourse consists of topics. The narrator presents an overall topic at the beginning of his story. Then he presents the important points and elaborates each one further as he deems necessary. Topics in Tatana explanatory discourse are mostly nominal phrases. Main topics[4] are introduced by gii nopo 'that-topic particle', ino nopo 'that-topic particle', or iti nopo 'this-topic particle'. The topic is often followed by the particles i or in, which denote definiteness.

The topic is followed by a comment which is either a nominal phrase or contains a verb phrase. The verbs in the backbone clauses are existential, descriptive or stative.

Example 14 illustrates the occurrence of a nonverbal clause on the backbone:

Om gii nopo ulun do
and that topic.particle person FW

mamansung.mayang i do kon do
perform.mamansung.mayang.ritual def FW say FW

borasik om ulun mulau.
exorcise conn person insane

And as for the person for whom the *mamansung mayang*, or exorcising, as they say, is performed, (he is) an insane person.

In Example 14 the topic and comment are nominal phrases, which are linked by the connector *om*.

Example 15 illustrates the use of an existential verb:

Om gii nopo lagi' ulun do patoi
and that topic.particle also person FW dead

bagu in om *aro* sumangat nu ulun
newly that conn there.is spirit of person

poimpasi nokowaya' do linumobong.
alive has.followed.along FW was.buried

And also, as for a person who has newly died, *there is* the spirit of a living person that has gone along and been buried.

The existential verb *aro* 'there is' is static in character. Its negative counterpart is *koiso* 'there is not'.

Descriptive verbs have the prefix *ki-*, a derivative affix which occurs with nominal roots. Adjectives, which take the verbal prefix *mo-*, are also descriptive.

Example 16 illustrates the use of descriptive verbs:

Om gii nopo ulun do untuk
and that topic.particle person FW for

momodinding o bobanar dogii ulun mulau
make.wall FW really.well that person insane

i om *kidudung* isio, *kisirung* isio
def conn has.head.covering he has.hat he

do *kingaran* do tudung julang.
FW has.name FW name.of.woven.hat

And as for a person who is making a wall really well against the insane person, he *has a headcovering*, he *has a woven hat*, which *has the name* of *tudung julang*.

The stative verbs describing the condition of a person have the prefix poi(N)-.

Example 17 illustrates the use of a stative verb:

Adat nopo intad do komotutuaan do custom topic.particle from FW ancestors FW kon, kaa nopo nokongoi idang do say not topic.particle has.gone offer.food FW kon, pointudung sino do tana', pointingaa'. say is.sitting there on ground is.looking.up	As for the custom of the ancestors, they say, (if) one has not gone and offered food, they say, (they, i.e. the ancestral spirits) are sitting there on the ground, looking up.

Noncompletive verb forms occur in explanatory discourse to express customary action. Timeless aspect forms occur in the narrator's comments.

Example 18 illustrates the use of noncompletive forms on the backbone:

Gii nopo ukuman nu Gipun om that topic.particle sentence of Japanese conn monyusub ani' do ulun do kampung sama-sama' order only FW people in village together mokitaak do bogok om mokitaak do manuk ask.to.give FW pig and ask.to.give FW chicken untuk kon nisiro ani' do anakon niro sondiri. for say by.them just FW food their self	As for the sentence given by the Japanese, (they) just gave an order to the village people to ask for pigs and ask for chickens, they said, for their own food (i.e. for the Japanese soldiers).

The noncompletive verb forms monyusub and mokitaak constitute the contents of the standing order given by the Japanese.

Example 19 illustrates the use of a timeless aspect form in a narrator's comment:

Ino no ampai aku disiro do that topic put.before I for.them FW rinampung do anak ku do motuo do andu'. sever.ties FW child my FW oldest FW female	That is, I put food before them to show that I severed (family) ties with my oldest daughter.

The verb ampai 'put before' is in timeless aspect form. This narrator's comment is part of an illustration of a food offering ceremony performed in connection with the oldest daughter's wedding.

4.2 Background verbs

In this preliminary analysis, there were places in the data where it was hard to draw a dividing line between the backbone and background. Reasons, conditions, comments, and amplifications are assigned to the background. They contain noncompletive and completive verb forms. Completive forms refer to actions which have been completed or need to be completed before the action that is being described can take place. Completive forms also occur embedded in nominal phrases. Explanatory discourse may contain embedded procedural discourses.

Example 20 illustrates the use of noncompletive forms in a narrator's comment:

Tapi ino no magagau aku do loin but that topic.particle worry I FW not	But that is why I am worried, for it is not that (one) sees (it);
tupo ko mokito, sarita' ani' do komotutuaan you.know FW see story only FW ancestors	the ancestors only tell it is like that, they say.
do ingkoi kon. FW like.that say	

The verbs magagau and mokito are in noncompletive form.

Example 21 illustrates the occurrence of completive verb forms:

Om nalap poyo bagu nisio giri tu sumangat nu and got when then by.her that FW spirit of	And when she has got that spirit of the person who had
ulun nokowaya' i om gumara' pobagu person has.followed def conn shout then	followed along, they shout and...
isiro om... they and	

In Example 21 the completive verb nalap occurs in the temporal margin of a sentence which describes the carrying out of a ceremony. The completive verb form nokowaya' occurs within a nominal phrase. Both verbs refer to actions that have taken place prior to that of the main clause.

4.3 Peak

The three Tatana texts studied present some evidence for peaks in explanatory discourse. In the Moginum text one of the most important Tatana ceremonies is described and explained. The first part is a procedural discourse, which is followed by a description and expounding of various aspects of the ceremony. Heavy repetition and paraphrasing occur in the passage which stresses the importance of correct performance. In another text, which describes three Tatana rituals, the main purpose of one of the rituals is explained by using a collateral contrast.

Example 22 illustrates the use of paraphrase and repetition in marking peak:

1. Kaa nopo noi' gia'
not topic.particle finished talk

ulun mibobogo om ponyubi i,
male.ceremony.leader and priestess def

kosinduol do ulun natatak in. 2.
can.make.sick FW people left.behind that

Ino nopo sabap nu
that topic.particle reason FW

pinoturun komotutuaan, adat diti,
previous.generations ancestors custom this

kaa po onuon bobanar, kaa oyo mawaya'
not yet taken in.earnest not if follow

polombuson, kosinduol dami',
carried.through can.make.sick us

mokoujur. 3. Masalaan
can.cause.illness make.mistake

nopo ataupun no ulun kaa bagu
topic.particle or FW people not then

maru-aru mopopupus do adat dino,
stable-?? carry.through.to.end FW custom that

kosinduol nini' do ulun natatak. 4.
can.make.sick also FW people left.behind

Sabap po gonoi.tupo do ulun.mibobogo
apropos of ?? FW male.ceremony.leader

jangan ponyupi, kaa no majadi, koiso oyo iro.
with priestess not FW succeed is.not if they

5. Kalau mopinsalaan koini, makapatoi do
if err a.little can.kill FW

ulun.
people

1. If the male ceremony leader and the priestess have not finished their talk, that can cause the people who are left behind to get sick. 2. That is the reason from the previous generations and ancestors as for this custom, if it is not taken seriously, if it is not followed and carried through, that can cause sickness for us, it can cause illness. 3. If mistakes are made, or if people who are not stable are to carry through that custom, that can cause the people who are left behind to get sick. 4. As for the male ceremony leader along with the priestess, it will not succeed if they are not there. 5. If (they) err even a little, that can kill people.

In Example 22 paraphrase is used in the underlined items in sentence 2: 'if it is not taken seriously, if it is not followed and carried through', and 'can cause to get sick, it can cause illness', and in sentence 3: 'if people who are not stable are to carry through that custom.' Crucial words or phrases are repeated, such as kosinduol 'can cause to get sick' in sentences 1, 2, and 3, and masalaan 'make mistakes' and mopinsalaan 'err, make mistakes' in sentences 3 and 5. Paraphrasing and repetition serve to highlight the necessity of correct performance in the light of the implications.

Example 23 illustrates the use of collateral contrast at peak:

1. Om bila' poyo gii ulun mulau i
and when when that person insane def

naadan poyo om gii no kon katandaan do
fainted when conn that FW say sign FW

naalap o nu bobolian dogii sampai mokobonsoi
got FW by priestess that until get.well

kon. 2. Kaa nopo maadan, kon, do
say not topic.particle faint say FW

mamansung.mayang in om kaa lagi' nokobonsoi
name.of.ceremony that conn not yet got.well

ulun dino mulau.
person that insane

1. And when that insane person has fainted, that is, they say, the sign that the priestess has got (the spirit) so that the person can get well, they say. 2. If (he) does not faint, they say, during the mamansung mayang ritual, that insane person has not recovered yet.

In the above example the second sentence is in collateral contrast with the first. The narrator uses this device in the culminating explanation.

NOTES

[1] Tatana is a Dusunic language spoken by approximately 5,500 people in the district of Kuala Penyu in the State of Sabah in Malaysia. The material for this paper was collected in 1980-81 under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

The paper is a result of a workshop conducted by Dr. Robert E. Longacre in 1982 at the study center of the Summer Institute of Linguistics at Nasuli, Bukidnon, Philippines. I wish to thank Dr. Elmer Wolfenden for numerous helpful suggestions during the preparation of this paper.

[2] Timeless aspect has the same form as imperative: zero suffix in subject focus, -o' in object focus, -i' in referent focus. When the root has the noncompletive aspect prefix mo(N)- or completive aspect prefix no(ko)-, the timeless aspect, like the imperative, has the prefix po(N)- or po(ko)-.

[3] The phonemes of Tatana are as follows: p, t, k, ? ('), b, d, g, m, n, ñ (ny), ŋ (ng), s, l, r, w, y; i, u, o, a.

Abbreviations used in this paper are as follows:

aux	auxiliary
conn	connector
class	classifier
def	definiteness particle
OF	object focus
FW	grammatical function word with wide range of meaning; author did not specify which meaning.
??	gloss uncertain

[4] Further study is needed to determine whether Tatana demonstratives function at discourse level indicating different levels of prominence. Interesting evidence has been found in the Yakan and Sama Bangingi languages of the Philippines.

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ELIMINATING THE HOCUS-POCUS OF FOCUS IN SANGIRE

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I. Introduction
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I. Introduction

My wife, Kathleen, and I have been studying the Sangiré language of southern Mindanao and the Sarangani Islands for a little over two and one half years.[1] During that time we have made progress in understanding the grammar of Sangiré. However, since we still had some puzzling questions we hoped a discourse approach to the grammar might be helpful. We wanted to know why the speaker, when confronted with several grammatically correct choices of clause structure, makes the selection that he does.

The problem discussed here will be the problem of focus or topic in Sangiré. One would agree that if one did not know the answer to this problem he would not be a very fluent Sangiré speaker.

We analyzed our texts in chart form using charts adapted from Thurman (in Grimes 1975:82-91) and Longacre-Levinsohn (1977). This made it possible to see some higher level, or discourse rules. We checked our hypotheses in other text material as well. The four texts examined closely included two folk tales, one personal true account, and one historical account. Three of the texts are considered narrative and the fourth, the historical account, must be considered expository.

Discussion of focus in Tagalog and Sangiré

The non-Philippine language speaker is often bewildered by what is often called 'focus' in Philippine languages. When learning a Philippine language he is confronted with two or more grammatically correct ways of expressing something, each placing something different in focus and requiring a particular verb morphology to show it. If focus is defined as 'The feature of a verbal predicate that determines the semantic relationship between predicate and its topic' (Schachter and Otanes, 1972:69), how do we understand the semantic relationship? Or, if focus is defined as selecting a topic, by the same token, how do we select a topic? We must look at what goes on before or after the sentence in question, what is understood by the hearer and speaker. Put differently, we must understand what is happening at the discourse level.

To make it clear what we mean by focus we will illustrate with some basic Tagalog sentences before moving on to the Sangiré data (Schachter and Otanes, 1972:69-70).

Actor focus	Bumabasa ng diyaryo ang titser. 'The teacher is reading a newspaper.'
Object focus	Binabasa ng titser ang diyaryo. 'The teacher is reading a newspaper.'
Object focus	Ibinigay ng titser sa istudyante ang premyo. 'The teacher gave the student the prize.'
Direction focus	Binigyan ng titser ng premyo ang istudyante. 'The teacher gave the student a prize.'

The same basic focuses will be illustrated in Sangiré. A major characteristic in Sangiré grammar in contrast to Tagalog is the absence of a well-defined marking in the noun phrase. The Tagalog ang or focus topic marker is absent, the focus being shown only in the verb affixation. The nontopic Tagalog marker ng (nang) for subject or object is also absent. The only nonfocus marker in Sangiré is su showing direction. This 'direction', called 'referent' by Janet Persson (1974), includes both beneficiary and location. In Sangiré direction is focused with the normal nonactor focus verb affixation with an addition of -ang. (This is similar to the Tagalog an or the Yakan an.)

Sangiré examples of focus (For an overview of Sangiré verb morphology see Figure 1):

Actor Focus

1. Kapétunang-ku naka-dingiré lěntu. — My wife heard a shot.
   spouse-my pt.AF.able-hear explosion

2. Kelleapa ià méng-ayà lima-ku ini? — How can I remove my hand?
   how I inc.AF-get hand-my this

Goal Focus

1. Ikaw ni-kiki-te-ng kima-ve ene. — That clam bit you.
   you pt.NA-bite-cpl-of clam-cs that

2. Bò vavinay-ku ni-pa-papì-e-ng
then sister-my pt.NA-caus-accompany-cpl-of

Jose su Kaburang.
Jose dir Kaburan

And then Jose brought my sister to Kaburan.

3. Bò i pagé-ku vuru kapétunang-ku
then pm bro.in.law-my and spouse-my

ni-vava-te su anu-ng doktoré su
pt.NA-carry-cpl dir presence-of doctor at

Elisabeth Hospital.
Elisabeth Hospital

Then my brother-in-law and my wife were brought to the doctor at Elisabeth Hospital.

Direction Focus

beneficiary:

1. Bila ià ikaw, i Avuy, nga-teng-ku vatu
if I you pm buddy inc.NA.get-DF-I stone

tutu kébì.
inc.NA.smash all

If I were you, buddy, I would get a stone and smash all of it.

2. Ià ni-pag-akalle-ng-u.
I pt.NA-NA-trick-DF-you

You tricked me.

3. Dadi nallèngù-nallèngù matatimadé kamona
and.so long.time-long.time old.people before

i sille rutun-ang
pm they hunger-DF

And so for a long time the people of old were hungry (lit. beneficiary of hunger).

By 'goal' is meant what we in discussion of English would commonly call object with the exception of what we are here calling 'direction'. 'Beneficiary' is the item to or for which an action is directed. Its state or location is not changed as it can for goal.

location:

1. Kangéllè vanua ini ondè vanua pupa-méng-ng
before place this son place pp.NA-reside-DF

i kami ini ta apa bansa séngà.
pm we.exc here no some tribe other

Long ago, this place, my son, we lived at this place, there was no other tribe here.

2. Su tétà tétà-e ni-pé-raréda-keng-u
dir first first-its pt.NA-NA-fight-DF-of

Kasila vanua Timbéang apeng-e Bat[illegible]
Spanish place Timbeang shore-its Bat[illegible]

At the start the Spanish fought at Timbéang above Batiang.

verb type		past/present progressive	incomplete aspect	complete aspect
Intransitive				
active intransitive				
AF	-um-(intr)	C_1u	-um-	-im-
DF	-um-(intr)		-ang	ni- -ang
stative intransitive				
PF	ma-(stat)	muma-	ma-	na-
GF	ma-(stat)		ka- -ang	nika -ang
PF	m-(stat)		m-	n-
Associative[2]				
AF	mé-	mumé-	mé-	né-
GF	mé-	i-pépé-	i-pé-	ni-pé-
DF	mé-	i-pépé- -ang	i-pé- -ang	ni-pé- -ang
	(mé ---> mag-, pé ---> pag ______?V)			
Transitive				
AF	mang- méng-	mumang-	mang-	nang-
GF	mang- méng-	pupang-	Ø-(pang-)	ni-(pang)
BF	mang- méng-		Ø- -ang	ni- -ang
LF	mang- méng-	pupang	Ø-pang- -ang	ni-pang- -ang

Figure 1. Summary of Sangiré verb morphology

II. Wendel-Hale eligibility conditions

A very clear discussion on determining what can be in focus in Philippine languages was presented by Dag Wendel and Austin Hale (1979) in an article entitled 'Eligibility for Topic and Focus in Kaagan-Kalagan'. We will be building on the Wendel-Hale conditions, applying them to Sangiré data and adding a rule that in conjunction with the eligibility conditions will allow us to reasonably predict the focused item.

A primary distinction to be made at the outset is that they treat preposed sentence topic as parallel to focus because of the similarity of the lists of eligibility conditions they had arrived at, whereas I will limit my discussion to focus because preposing of sentence topic (or word order) seems to function with different constraints in Sangiré.

The following criteria are given by Wendel and Hale for eligibility for selection of a focused item:

1. Givens of the communicative situation: Only elements which are on stage can be given focus.

The next three criteria have to do with getting the element onto the stage.

2. Eligibility to be focused later is conferred through nonfocused introduction in:
    a. existential clause
    b. identificational equative clause
    c. (other) nonfocused introduction

3. Grammatical links to already eligible items that also confer eligibility for focus are:
    a. link to an eligible possessor
    b. link to an eligible location
    c. link to eligible equative predicates
    d. link to eligible constituent of nominalized clause

4. Semantic links to already eligible items confer eligibility.

III. The 'Hold-up Story' examined - Rule 5

We will first examine the first person account of a hold-up and the subsequent activity. (See Appendix A for complete interlinear text and free translation.) All nominals in transitive clauses will be put to the Wendel-Hale eligibility conditions. First, all subjects (patients or actors) in stative or intransitive clauses are, I would expect, inherently in focus. However, such intransitive subjects still need to be brought onto stage, unless they are already well known to the audience. In the Hold-up Story, the intransitive subjects did not need proper introduction because the story was told to me and I knew the participants, such as the 'we' in sentence 1, 'my wife' in sentence 4, 'my two children' in sentence 6, 'my brother-in-law' in sentence 6.

Potentially, intransitive clauses could have had locations in focus but this did not occur in our narrative and will not normally be an option. Location focus will be illustrated in the second text. We will now go through the Hold-up Text and illustrate the correct choice of focus. Numerous sentences need not be discussed here because they are intransitive so do not give us a choice for the focused item. The reader may wish to read the free English account of the story and refer to the interlinear when appropriate.

The first sentence we examine presents no difficulty in applying the Wendel-Hale eligibility conditions.

4. 'My wife heard a shot.'

I knew his wife (condition #1). I also knew him (condition #3), and she had been included in the 'we' of sentences 1 and 3. The shot could not be in focus because it was not yet a given (condition #1).

After sentence 4 we have a series of intransitive and stative sentences which give no focus selection difficulties. When we reach sentences 18, 19, and 20, however, we have clauses with two items eligible for focus. These illustrate that the Wendel-Hale eligibility conditions alone do not allow us to determine the item for focus in all cases.

18. 'They looked inside the house, and saw there were no people inside and there was blood inside.'

'They' are eligible by their introduction in an existential clause (sentence 16) and 'house' was introduced in sentence 6 so it is also eligible (condition #2c).

To provide a means of selecting the item for focus when two or more items are eligible we will add a rule for focus to the Wendel-Hale eligibility conditions; this will make it possible for the nonnative Sangiré speaker to make the correct choice for focus.

> Rule 5
>
> If two or more items are eligible because of being given or because of having been brought on to stage by another means, the more thematic item is chosen for focus. It may be a global thematic participant, prop or concept, or it may be a local thematic participant, prop or concept.

Rule 5 is consistent with the findings of R. Kenneth Maryott in the related Sangihé language of the northern Sulawesi area of Indonesia and the southern Philippines. He stated that, 'maintaining an unchanged topic seems to be a desirable end of Sangihé.' (Maryott 1977:93) There is generally a theme for each paragraph in the discourse. The speaker would try to keep that theme item in focus throughout that paragraph. At other times he will select the item for focus because it is thematic to the entire discourse.

In analyzing sentence by sentence it is not always possible to predict what is the choice for focus in the viewpoint of the speaker. Sometimes it is only possible to understand the choice for focus upon completion of the analysis of the entire text. Only then will it be understood what the global thematic items are and how the local thematic items relate to them.

If we look at the 'Hold-up Story' (Appendix A) we see three major paragraphs. From sentence 1 to sentence 16 we see the actions surrounding the hold-up itself. From sentence 17 to sentence 60 we have the attention given to the wounded people, getting them to the hospital and treating them. From sentence 61 until the end of the story (which is not given in its entirety here), we see the action surrounding the legal case. Each of these three sections involve different participants and different locations so are clearly three paragraphs.

Now we return to our question about why the house is in focus in sentence 18 as opposed to the people that came to assist. As pointed out this second paragraph is concerned with the wounded people. The house was the place where they were wounded ('there was blood inside'), and the people looking inside had expected to see these wounded people there. Therefore the house is more thematic than the people coming to look inside. It is a paragraph with the wounded people being the thematic participants.

Now we will examine the next two sentences that would have given us difficulty in understanding the choice for focus before having added Rule 5 to the Wendel-Hale conditions.

19. 'After they called (my sister and her child), my sister and her child came out.'

20. 'Then they called me and my child...'

They are eligible for focus (nonfocused introduction in sentences 16, 17, and 18). My sister and her child are also eligible according to the speaker's pattern of assuming that I knew all his relatives involved (condition #4 or maybe condition #1). Me is also eligible (narrator), as are his children, because of nonfocused introduction in sentence 8 (condition #2c), and semantic link (condition #4).

In sentence 19 and sentence 20 the speaker chose to focus on the helpers who were not in focus in sentence 18. They are chosen for focus over the speaker and his child and his sister and her child, because the speaker and his child and his sister and her child were not injured and therefore not thematic participants in this paragraph of the discourse. The helpers were more thematic than the other people in these clauses because they had come to assist the injured (Rule 5).

21. '...we looked for a pumpboat to hire.'

We was already on stage and eligible, but the pumpboat was not a given (condition #1), and hence not eligible for focus.

24. 'Then my brother-in-law and my wife were brought to the doctor.'

The givens are in focus (condition #1). The actors who brought them to the doctor are not even mentioned. Since this is a paragraph about wounds and blood and wounded people, the patients are chosen for focus and not the people bringing them (whom we assume includes the speaker). See sentences 10, 11, and 21 for previous references to wounded people.

25. 'My wife's wounds were looked at.'

(Condition #1 and Rule 5). Same reasons as sentence 24.

27. 'My brother-in-law's wounds were looked at.'

Literally, 'the implied wounds on my brother-in-law.' Same conditions as sentences 24 and 25.

30. 'Then that wound was treated.'

Same reasons as sentences 24, 25, and 27.

37. 'Then Jose had my sister brought to Kaburan.'

Jose is not a given and hasn't been introduced, so therefore is ineligible for focus.

38. 'A case was filed.'

Focusing of case is a violation of conditions #1-4. Case was not a given or properly brought on stage and is found in focus. In the next sentence the speaker corrects his error by properly introducing the item as nonfocused:

39. 'She arrived in Kaburan and she filed a case.'

40. 'After she filed the case, they returned again to Balut.'

Case was not eligible for focus (condition #1). (This is not the case of the next paragraph.) She is the sister of the speaker, the wife of the wounded man who is the local thematic participant (and also the global thematic participant). Therefore, had case been properly brought on stage it would still not have been the choice for focus (Rule 5).

42. 'Jose looked for Governor __________,'

Jose has been on stage earlier. The governor is not yet a given (condition #1).

43. '... and asked for help.'

At first this seems to violate our conditions. Help does not at first appear to be on stage, but the people seeking it and the ones that have been wounded, traveling, etc. are on stage. It is known that the brother-in-law is severely wounded. And, when people of little financial means have a misfortune, help is needed. It is therefore a given of the communicative situation (condition #1). Help is chosen for focus over Jose since Jose was a prop used to get to the governor who is also a prop to provide help for the wounded people, the thematic participants. Help is more thematic than Jose (Rule 5).

44. 'The governor said. . (condition #2c).
...It would be good if Batantu could be brought to Davao to
Regional Hospital.'

Batantu is the name of the brother-in-law so he is already on stage. (Sangiré custom does not allow the mentioning of a Sangiré person's name if he or she is an adult. The speaker had resisted up until this point, but this is inside a quote so he is not the violator. Note, however, that non-Sangiré people can be named, such as Jose, and later, Romi.) The actors were eligible for focus but the beneficiary was focused since he is a thematic participant (Rule 5).

45. '...he will be brought to Dadiangas.'

Same conditions as sentence 44.

48. 'When they disembarked from PAL the governor had them go in
his car.'

The 'his car' is an instrument focus and is the primary focus, with the secondary focus, understood to be the beneficiaries of the conveyance. This is something that doesn't happen every day - a ride in the governor's car! - and that could be why the speaker just had to focus it. It could also be argued that it conforms to condition #4 as a component of 'help' which has already been brought on stage. This would mean that we do not have an ineligible focused item. Rule 5 allows us to chose car over the governor, who has been put on stage (sentences 42 and 44) but who is a nonthematic prop. The person carried is maybe the most important participant and might be considered for sole focus, but it could be that help is a global thematic concept, it being represented by the car. It has appeared in focus two times previous to this (sentence 19, the help in sentence 17, and sentence 43).

53. 'The doctor wanted to remove his heel.'

The heel is new information but only a seeming violation of our conditions. (The heel is grammatically linked to the brother-in-law, (condition #3a), but would it be normal to have been thinking about his heel when it was heard he was wounded?) A sentence beginning with because follows, which provides the eligibility for the heel. This feature is acceptable in Sangiré. It does not need to be part of the same sentence. The doctor is not a thematic participant (Rule 5).

54. 'Because there was a bullet--a fragment crammed inside of his heel in the bone.'

This existential introduces the heel as well as the bullet (condition #2a).

58. 'There was a Maranao named Romi, his relative from Davao who sought him at the hospital.'

After being made eligible by an existential clause, Romi is chosen over the wounded brother-in-law ('him') because the action of getting him out of the hospital is part of our global 'help' theme. (This is the fourth time 'help' has been in focus.) Romi is 'help', and therefore a global thematic participant in this case (Rule 5).

59. 'Then he was carried to Romi's house.'

Both he (the brother-in-law) and Romi could be in focus but the brother-in-law, the local thematic participant in this paragraph is chosen. 'Help' has played his role again and we go on to see what happens to the local thematic participant (Rule 5).

Apparently the filing of the case in sentences 38-39 was of a different nature or it was in a lower court, not the one in which the case of the third paragraph is being decided. This case is being decided in Digos, a new location. Some of the same participants are involved as were in the first two paragraphs. The first paragraph had the speaker as a thematic participant, along with others. The second paragraph included the speaker's wife, an injured person, along with the brother-in-law as a thematic participant. Now, in the final span, the speaker's wife is no longer a participant. The they here presumably is the brother-in-law and his wife. They are in focus (sentences 61-63) because they are the local thematic participants, and, we finally see, the global participants because they have been thematic participants in all three paragraphs. In sentences 64 and 65 we have an embedded paragraph that has the witnesses as the local thematic participants, therefore in focus. They had been introduced in sentence 63 out of focus so were eligible for focus (condition #2c).

61. 'They filed a case in Digos.'

62. 'When they filed a case in Digos for one month.'

63. 'They got their witnesses.'

64. 'The father of Kaya, Maysa, and Halima were brought to Davao.'

65. 'They arrived in Davao and they were asked, "Who did you see?" '

The 'Hold-up Story' continues but is not recorded herein as the story to this point is adequate for our purposes.

Now we will direct our attention to examples from an historical account and two folktales, applying these eligibility conditions for focus which includes the rule for focus when two or more eligible conditions are presented.

IV. The 'History of Balut Island' examined - Rule 6

We discover in this discourse a new way of making an item eligible for focus that in conjunction with the rule of selecting the thematic item for focus allows it to be in focus in the sentence introducing it. We will call this Rule 6, 'Eligibility by introduction':

> 'A speaker may put an element in focus before it is formally introduced. It is then reintroduced in a second clause as a nonfocused item.'

This technique is not frequent and may be used as an introduction to an entire discourse or may signal a new paragraph in the discourse. It introduces what is coming and tells you what item is to be thematic.

Eligibility condition #6 is used to introduce the thematic item in this historical account.

The very first sentence tells us this is an exposition about the place Balut Island. A narrative about the people on the island is intricately woven through the exposition, and may even take up most of this discourse even though the introduction tells us it is really an exposition. See Appendix B for the free translation of the entire discourse.

1. Kangéllè vanua ini ondè vanua
long.ago place this my.son place

pupa-ména-ng i kami ini ta apa bansa
pp.LF-reside-DF pm we.ex this neg some nation

sénggà.
other

In the old days, this place, my son, we were the only ones residing in this place, there were no other tribes.

This tells us that the place, Balut Island, is thematic in this exposition. After this introduction the story really starts.

2. Napélò su vanua ini tétabe bansa
pt.stat.situate dir place this extent nation

napélò sini dallua 3. Ikaisa Villang
pt.stat.situate here two first Bilaan

ikadua Sangiré.
second Sangil

There were only two tribes situated here. The first was Blaan the second Sangil.

Now the speaker has formally, by use of eligibility condition #2c and #3, put the place on stage, since here represents place.

4.	Deng	su	yupung.mang.yupung	taya
	still	dir	ancestors	not

ni-ka-pa-ména-ng-u	Kasila	deng	taya
pt.NA-NA.LF-reside-DF-of	Spanish	still	not

ka-pa-ména-ng-u	kébì	bansa.
inc.NA-LF-reside-DF-of	all	nation

The place was still for the ancestors to reside in, not the Spanish and all other nations to reside in.

Place is the primary global thematic item in this exposition, as concept, and the main participants, the Sangil ancestors are the secondary global thematic item. Therefore, place is chosen for focus (Rule 5).

Sentences 1-7 are an expository paragraph with place and ancestors thematic. Sentences 8-10 are a paragraph about the Spanish attack on the place and the ancestors.

8.	Nallengù	saù	bờ-u	ene	séng-kalléta
	long.time	again	after-of	that	one-sb.when

matatimadé	sini	ni-rumpa-keng-u	Kasila.
pl.old.person	here	pt.NA-attack-DF-of	Spanish

9.	Vanua	ini	adi	naka-pépate-ng	Kasila
	land	this	well	pt.able-destroy-of	Spanish

10.	Su	tétà-e	ni-pé-raréda-keng-u	Kasila
	dir	start-its	pt-NA-fight-DF-of	Spanish

vanua	Timbéang	apeng-e	Batiang.
place	Timbéang	shore-its	Batiang

(8) A long time after that when the old ones had been here a long time the Spanish attacked them. (9) Well, the place was destroyed by the Spanish. (10) In the beginning the Spanish fought at Timbéang above Batiang.

Here we have followed the conditions. The Spanish might be considered a given in the communicative situation of the Philippines. Most of us know they were here and by semantic link could be put on Balut. But it is the ancestors that are thematic. Both in this paragraph and in the entire discourse, they are chosen for focus over the Spanish. By the same token, place as thematic concept is chosen over the Spanish in sentences 8 and 10 (Rule 5).

The Spanish are now definitely eligible for focus because they were previously introduced out of focus (condition #2c).

At this point the embedded narrative continues with a series of small paragraphs introduced by séngkallétàu 'whereupon'. (This is only one of several ways of signalling paragraph break in Sangiré.)

In the paragraph consisting of sentences 11-17 the Spanish are the thematic participants.

11. Séng-ka-llétàu na-lléngù
one-sb-when pt-long.time

ni-pé-raréda-u Kasila vuru Sangiré,
pt.NA-NA-fight-of Spanish and Sangil

Villang, Kasila ta nang-atu.
Blaan Spanish neg pt.AF-win

Whereupon, the Spanish, Sangil, and Blaan had been fighting a long time, the Spanish could not win.

The paragraph continues with their going and making a fort in another place, the Spanish being the choice for focus over other items.

We shift back to the ancestors in focus with séngkallétàu signalling a paragraph talking about a particular ancestor.

18. Sêng-ka-llétàu napia padiang su Maullung
one-sb-when pt.good market dir Maullung

né-padiang koano kamona matimadé.
pt-market religious.leader first old

19. Kidò ni-sinapan-eng-u Kasila se. 20.
and.so pt.NA-shoot-DF-of Spanish there

Séng-ka-sinapan-eng-u Kasila koano,
one-sb-shoot-DF-of Spanish religious.leader

manga andi sémpoto u waktu-ne ni-pan-inapang,
about maybe half of hour-its pt.NA-NA-shoot

taya ni-ka-rino-ng 21. taya na-llesé.
not pt.NA-NA-hit-DF neg pt.stat-wound

(18) Whereupon there was a decent market at Maullung where the old religious leader before went shopping. (19) And so, the Spanish shot at him (beneficiary focus) there. (20) When they shot at him (beneficiary focus), for half an hour they shot (goal focus), they did not hit him (beneficiary focus). (21) He was not wounded.

The koano in sentence 18 could be in focus from the start because the audience knew that there is always a koano on Balut. The modifying adjectives first and old help pin down which koano was meant.

Sentences 22-28 comprise a paragraph with the Spanish as thematic participants and sentences 29-34 comprise a paragraph with the Americans as thematic participants. Thus, the Spanish and Americans are chosen for focus in these two paragraphs over other eligible items with the exception of the cases where the choice is between the local thematic participant, the Spanish or the American, and the global thematic concept place, or thematic participants the ancestors. For example the Americans are in focus when they get rid of the Spanish (sentence 32), but in sentence 31 people of this place are in focus.

The story concludes with a long expository paragraph about the people living on Balut Island today (sentences 35-65). Because it is an expository paragraph it contains mainly stative clauses about the resident Sangil, Indonesian, and Visayan. In making further statements about these peoples and Balut there is use of transitive clauses, however. To analyze the choice of focus in these cases we would have to go beyond the scope of this paper which is concerned with narrative discourse. It is hypothesized however, that the same constraints would be followed for determining focus in expository text as would be followed in narrative text. The difficulty in this particular text would be that there are many embedded paragraphs, some quite small, only one sentence in length (sentence 59). Each of these paragraphs, or what we might simply call 'statements', would have its own thematic item that would be preferred for focus.

We will now further illustrate our focus rules with a brief examination of two folktales.

V. The 'Story of the Monkey and the Kingfisher' examined

This is a folktale about a monkey plucking all the feathers of a kingfisher on the pretext of delousing him as they are on their way to gather shellfish on the reef. The monkey proceeds alone because the kingfisher is incapacitated. The monkey gets his just deserts when he gets his finger caught in a clam shell.

1.	I	Ubà	vuru	i	Véngka	i
	pm	Monkey	and	pm	Kingfisher	pm

dḗdua-ni	dimalleng	mang-émpuray
3p.dual-these	pt.go	inc.AF-get.shellfish

Monkey and Kingfisher, these two, went to get shellfish.

This introductory sentence gives us the two main characters in the story who are, without question, now eligible for focus in the story. The introductory sentence also plays an important part in the eventline of the story as well as introducing the main participants. The main participants are introduced immediately as focused items, rather than as nonfocused items or as the subject of an existential clause. This occurs in three of the six folktales in my corpus. It could be assumed that in the folktale genre the main participants are in the communicative situation and do not need to be brought on stage. It should also be pointed out that when they are introduced in focus in an introduction such as this they are the subject in an intransitive sentence which could be thought of as a lower level of focus than an object that is in focus in a transitive sentence. There is no choice as to what to focus upon in an intransitive sentence and it is often not expedient to back up and introduce the item in focus formally via condition #6.

2.	Séng-ka-dalleng	i	dédua-ni	diménta
	one-sb-go	pm	3p.dual-this	pt.arrive

Upon their going, as these two got on their way they deloused each

su dalleng né-ka-kutu
dir way pt-ref-delouse

other.

The question of who is in focus is neatly handled by the reflexive form of the verb. Both participants are thematic.

3. Né-bella i Ubà, I kaw-ko kamona
pt-say pm Monkey pm you-obl first

kutu-ang-ku i Avuy, kung-e si
inc.NA.delouse-DF-I pm friend said-3p dir

Véngka.
Kingfisher

Monkey said, 'I will delouse you first, friend,' he said to Kingfisher.

At this point how is the focused item chosen? Couldn't the monkey have said, 'I will delouse you first?' This would seem plausible, but the storyteller knows the kingfisher is the prominent participant in the story as is realized in the plot development. The kingfisher is about to be wronged by the monkey. The kingfisher is the one that ends up on top in the end when the monkey is pleading for mercy with his hand caught in the clam shell.

18. Kidò na-ki-téang-ke i Ubà si
and.so pt-req-leave-cpl pm Monkey dir

Véngka 19. Né-bella, O, i Avuy, ià
Kingfisher pt-say oh pm friend I

dumalleng mang-èmpuray. 20. Kallétà
inc.go inc.AF-get.shellfish when

bò-eng ni-ki-téang i Ubà né-bella-te
after-of pt.NA-req-leave pm Monkey pt-say-cpl

i Véngka kung i Véngka...
pm Kingfisher said pm Kingfisher

(18) And so Monkey asked permission to go from Kingfisher. (19) He said, 'Oh, friend, I will go get shellfish.' (20) After Monkey asked for permission to leave from Kingfisher, Kingfisher said, Kingfisher said...

This is in the paragraph (sentences 6-23) immediately following the plucking of the kingfisher's feathers. In this paragraph there is dialogue about the monkey leaving, and the kingfisher realizes his feathers are plucked. The monkey is in focus in asking his leave (sentences 18-19) as in this brief embedded paragraph he is thematic. In other cases in this paragraph when a choice of either participants for focus is available, the kingfisher is chosen, as he is the global thematic participant (Rule 5).

The monkey does finally leave. A séngka-dalleng ('upon going') in this case signals the paragraph break. A key element in the story is given in only three sentences.

> 24-26. 'Séngka (upon)-going Monkey chances to meet a clam. And so, upon doing this, he ends up in the mouth of the clam. Well, the clam bit his index finger.'

His index finger is new information but is part of him and the logical item an inquisitive monkey would put inside a clam (condition #3a).

At this point the kingfisher's feathers have had time to grow and he is able to fly and look for the monkey and see the monkey's miserable condition as he wastes away. From this point on he is thematic and is the choice for focus even though he and the monkey are both eligible.

Again, the eligibility conditions for focus as well as the rule for thematic items have been helpful in allowing us to understand the choices for focus in a text.

VI. The 'Story of Muntianggalla's Obedience' examined

This is a beautiful story with the theme of the rewards of obedience. Initially I had thought it a story of a 'Person who becomes a fish', but after analysis I prefer to give it a title that is related to its theme. In the story an older child fails to follow orders regarding the care of his younger brother, Bayungbadudi, and the mother berates the older son, named Muntianggalla. He is given a chance later to show obedience in the care of the younger brother and again in following her instructions regarding a dugong 'sea cow' that will be found. In the meantime she turns into a dugong, having first hidden jewelry in her stomach which turns out to be Muntianggalla's reward for following her instructions.

1. Pià vavékeng i Muntianggalla vuru i
is story pm Muntianggalla and pm

Bayungbadudi.
Bayungbadudi

There is a story about Muntianggalla and Bayungbadudi.

2. Nang-émpuray i nang-e.
pt.AF-get.shellfish pm mother-3p

Their mother went-gathering-shellfish.

Immediately the three main participants are made eligible. The first two by existential, their mother by semantic link (condition #4). Even though these three characters might be well known by the folktale hearer, it is appropriate also to put them on stage at the outset.

3. Kiddò i nang-e na-kà-e kinà
and.so pm mother-3p pt.AF.able-get-cpl fish

tanggé 4. Kiddò i sie na-pulleè-e bò-u
roe and.so pm 3p pt-go.home-cpl after-of

(3) And so, their mother was able to get fish roe. (4) And so, she went home after getting shellfish. (5) She arrived at the

nang-émpuray	5. Diménta	su	valle	i
pt.AF-get.shellfish	pt.arrive	dir	house	pm

sie	ni-véka-ne-te	kinà	tanggé	ene.
3p	pt.NA-cut-3p-cpl	fish	roe	that

house and she cut up that fish roe.

In sentence 5 the two items eligible for focus are the mother and the fish roe. We need to understand why the focused item switched from her to the fish roe. The story continues from this point with the mother smoking the fish roe and the mother telling Muntianggalla not to let Bayungbadudi have any and then her leaving to get water. Knowing the theme of obedience that is developing (before we did) the speaker chooses to focus something that might be said to symbolize disobedience. As soon as the mother's back is turned, Bayungbadudi cries for the fish roe (sentence 9) and Muntianggalla feeds it to Bayungbadudi (sentence 11). The mother returns and berates him about what he has done, 'What I forbade you was not to get it' (sentence 21). Thus, in this paragraph (sentences 5-22), the fish roe is the preferred item for focus over one of the global participants, the mother. This illustrates that the concept obedience is more thematic than the participants. The fish roe is a crucial prop involved in this global theme.

23. Kalléta	i	sie	bò-eng	né-bella	si
when	pm	3p	after-of	pt-say	dir

Muntianggalla	24. kelle	ni-lekese-te
Muntianggalla	like.that	pt.NA-open.3p-cpl

karuvu-ng-e	25. ni-ngà-e-te	manga
blanket-of-3p	pt.NA-get-3p-cpl	pl

pake-e,	singsing,	véka,	singkilé,	véting,
jewelry-3p	ring	bracelet	anklet	earring

soro.	26. Kalléta	bò-eng	néteng-pallasé
necklace	when	after-of	pt.become-jeweled

(23) After she had spoken to Muntianggalla like that, she went in her room and (24) she opened her blanket (25) and she got her jewels, rings, bracelets, anklets, earrings and necklaces. (26) After she put on the jewels...

Her blanket and her jewels are a grammatical link (condition #3a), so we can weakly argue that the mother's blanket and jewels are eligible. But why should they be chosen over her to be the focused item? In looking at sentences 23-25 we see they are really only one sentence. (They were divided for analysis.) Since the jewels only appear in this one sentence and the introductory subordinate clause in sentence 26 this does not represent justification for something being in focus over a main participant in a sentence in a paragraph. In the context of the entire text we later find out, however, that these jewels are thematic. They are the very reward for the ultimate obedience of Muntianggalla. 'After she puts on the jewels' is a subordinate clause that introduces her speech to Muntianggalla about the instructions to him concerning bringing Bayungbadudi to the beach when he cries so he can be nursed. It is never said on the eventline that the jewels are put on. This clause serves a loaded purpose for a subordinate clause in that it makes the jewels eligible for focus after the fact according to our eligibility condition #6 and eligibility condition #2c - nonfocused introduction. This focusing is a foreshadowing of something to appear at the conclusion of the story, i.e. the jewels. The jewels are thus a global thematic prop, tied to the global concept of obedience. We don't have to rely on the weaker grammatical link rule with this explanation.

We will sum up the story. The mother says a dugong 'sea cow' will be found and the boys are to request its stomach. The mother goes off and 'becomes a fish'. (Actually a dugong, which is interpreted culturally as a kind of fish by the Sangiré.) When the time comes Muntianggalla goes to the beach with Bayungbadudi and requests the stomach. Stomach is eligible because it was brought on stage in the conversation with his mother. It is chosen for focus over the main participant as it is a global thematic prop at this point; it contains the reward for his obedience. They open the stomach and there are all the jewels and 'these two brothers go home'. End.

Throughout the story in other cases not cited the eligibility conditions with Rule 5 are followed. Examples cited were ones that would have been difficult before the present analysis.

VII. Concluding remarks

We have undertaken to show how the Wendel and Hale conditions for eligibility for focus combined with a general rule for focus (our Rule 5) make it possible for us to reasonably predict what should be chosen for focus in Sangiré narrative. It can be argued in response to our approach that it is easy to make 'predictions' after the choice has already been made. What we have discovered, however, is that knowing what the speaker knew, we understand why he made the choice he did. He knows what is coming and can select the proper item for focus. A basic difficulty is that he knows what can be brought on stage with the participants. Only as I better understand his culture will I be able to predict what he carries with him.

NOTES

[1] The data for this paper was collected during the time my wife Kathleen and I studied Sangiré, from October of 1979 until June 1982. The two folktales referred to in this report were provided by R. Kenneth Maryott who has also researched the Sangiré language. The Sangiré, a Muslim people, live on the southeastern coast of Mindanao along the Sarangani Bay, and also on the Sarangani Islands. The language is closely related to the Sangihé language of Indonesia. These two languages have the same origin among the Sangir Islands of the Sulawesi Sea.

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See 'Grammar essentials - Sangiré', ms, for grammar details not covered in this paper.

The following are the abbreviations used in this paper:

able	abilitative
AF	actor focus
BF	beneficiary focus
C_1	reduplicated initial consonant
caus	causative
cpl	completive particle
cs	contrastive statement particle
DF	directional focus
dir	direction (includes location, benefactive, time)
emph	emphatic marker
GF	goal focus
I	first person singular
inc	incomplete aspect
inst	instrument
intr	intransitive
LF	locative focus
NA	nonactor focus
neg	negative
obl	obligatory marker
PM	patient focus
pm	person marker
pp	past or present progressive
pt	past tense
ref	reflexive
req	request
sb	subordinating clause marker
stat	stative
we.exc	first person plural exclusive
3p	third person singular

Spelling

é	/ə/	wide phonological variance
`	/ʔ/	glottal stop
ll	/ḽ/	flapped l

[2] This is a weak transitive verb type. Although it may have an object, it often 'associates' with an object to become an extended verb. Example:

Ià mé-bella-ng Sangiré.
I inc.AF-speak-of Sangil

I speak Sangil.

[3] Hale and Porter (1977:84) cite a main participant maintained periodically in focus throughout; but at the lower level, participants in focus for each section.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A
The Hold-up Story Text

1. Su tawng sérivu siyaw rasu pitumpuo
dir year 1,000 9 100 70

dua i kami na-tullisé su Kipinggang. 2.
2 pm we.ex pt.stat-hold.up dir Kipinggang

Su vuang Mayo baynti ocho su rébi-ng Ahadé.
dir month May 20 8 dir night-of Sunday

3. Purimotong i kami vavéaw ene
first pm we.ex afternoon that

méman-épung su déaré. 4. Bò manga alas jes,
pp.AF-pound dir yard then about hour ten

kapétunang-ku naka-dingiré léntù. 5. Bò
wife-my pt.able-hear explosion then

ta nangga naka-dingiré lavò, léntu
neg long pt.able-hear many explosions

sinapang. 6. Anà-ku dallua mé-ta-tikì su
gun child-my 2 inc-pl-sleep dir

valle vuru ipagé-ku
house and bro.in.law-my

1. In 1972 we were held up in Kipinggang. 2. It was the twenty-eighth of May on Saturday night. 3. Earlier that afternoon we had been pounding rice in the yard. 4. And then, about ten, my wife heard a shot. 5. Then, soon after, lots of shots were heard, gun shots. 6. My two children were sleeping in the house and so was my brother-in-law.

7. Bò i kami na-songkaré. 8. Ià
then pm we.ex pt.stat-aroused I

dimangeng-ke su valle dingang-ku-te
pt.go.up-cpl dir house companion-my-cpl

anà-ku yakang i Dindu. 9. Kapétunang-ku
child-my older pm Dindu wife-my

7. Then, we were aroused. 8. I went up to the house with my oldest child, Dindu. 9. My wife went up also with my younger child, Danny. 10. And then, she was wounded two times. 11. Then,

dimangeng-ke lay dingang-e-te anà-ku
pt-go.up-cpl also companion-3p-cpl child-my

tualli i Dani. 10. Bò isie nallesé-e
younger pm Dani then 3p pt-wound-cpl

dallua llese. 11. Bò lay ipagé-ku
two wounds then also brother.in.law-my

nallesé-e mapu-sa kalavò-u llese.
pt-wound-cpl eleven amount-of wound.3p

also my brother-in-law was wounded eleven times.

12. Bò ikami timang-ke vava su
then we.ex pt.ran-cpl below dir

sémbéka-ng vatu su dédur-u sasì. 13. Bò
behind-of stone dir beside-of sea then

kallétà lavò-e léntù ià vuru anà-ku i
when many-cpl explosion I and child-my pm

Dindu kimayang-ke su Vatuhanding. 14. Andi
Dindu pt.swim-cpl dir Batuganding maybe

manga séng-ka-ullasé ià ute diménta
about one-sb-hour I then pt.arrive

pay ene sabapé madawng.
same.level there because deep

12. Then, we ran down behind a rock by the sea. 13. Then, when there were many shots I and my child Dindu swam to Batuganding. 14. I was maybe about one hour getting over there because it was very deep.

15. Bò diménta pay ene ià
after pt.arrive same.level there I

né-kumbini-te su séndirang-u vatu. 16. Bò
pt.NA-hide-cpl dir behind-of rock then

manga ala una-ng rébi andi pià-e panavang
about hour one-of night maybe was-cpl help

bòu lune. 17. I sille labi mapuo
from interior pm they more.than ten

kalavò-e.
amount-its

15. Then when I arrived there I hid behind a rock. 16. Then, maybe about one at night, there was help that came from the interior. 17. They were about ten people.

18. Bò ni-anda-ng-ke-ng-sille
then pt.NA-look-DF-cpl-of-they

dawng-u valle ta-te tawmata-ne vuru pià
inside-of house neg-cpl people-its and was

18. Then they looked inside the house and saw there were no people inside and there was blood inside. 19. After

dara su dawng-u valle. 19. Bò i sille
blood dir inside-of house after pm they

néng-énggaré simébang vavinay-ku vuru anà-e
pt.AF-call pt.go.out sister-my and child-3p

su valle. 20. Bò i sille néng-énggaré i
dir house then pm they pt.AF-call pm

kadéni-ng taranà dingang i sille sakaeng
we.two-of family with pm they boat

pay su Vatuhanding.
same.level dir Batuganding

21. Bò kalléta mawkadé i
then when morning pm

pagé-ku pià llese i kami
brother.in.law-my had wound.3p pm we.ex

néndeà-e pamboté nang-arkila kalléta
pt.AF-seek-cpl pumpboat pt.AF-hire when

naka-bà pamboté, ilaw, i kami
pt.AF.able-get pumpboat friend pm we.ex

alleng-e Santo Ninyo. 22. I kami né-buà
name-its Santo Ninyo pm we.ex pt-leave

bòu Kipinggang alas nueve. 23. I kami
from Kipinggang hour nine pm we.ex

diménta su Lajangasé alas dos
pt.arrive dir Dadiangas hour two

24. Bò i pagé-ku vuru
then pm brother.in.law-my and

kapétunang-ku ni-vava-te su anu-ng
wife-my pt.NA-bring-cpl dir place-of

doktoré su Elisabeth Hospital. 25. Bòu
doctor dir Elisabeth Hospital after

diménta day ene ni-anda-ng-ke llese
pt.arrive up there pt.NA-look-DF-cpl wound

kapétunang-ku dallua séngkay pià ambullé su
wife-my two whether is bullet dir

they called, my sister and her child came out of the house. 20. Then they called me and my child there in somebody's boat in Betuganding.

21. Then when it was morning my brother-in-law had wounds, we sought a pumpboat to hire. Then we got a pumpboat, friend. Its name was Santo Ninyo. 22. We left from Kipinggang at nine. 23. We arrived in Dadiangas at twelve.

24. Then my brother-in-law and my wifc were brought to a doctor at Elisabeth Hospital. 25. After they (Ø) arrived up there my wife's two wounds were examined to see whether there were bullet fragments inside. 26. And so it happened that there was none.

dawng-e. 26. Kidò ta apa.
inside-it and.so neg some

27. Bò ni-anda-ng su i
then pt.NA-look-DF dir pm

pagé-ku. 28. Sabapé i sie pià llesé
brother.in.law-my because pm 3p has wound

lavo llesé-e mapu-sa kalavò-e. 29. Pià
many wound-3p eleven amount-its is

ambullé su dawng-e. 30. Bò
bullet dir inside-it then

ni-undan-eng-ke llesé ene.
pt.NA-treat-DF.cpl wound that

31. Bò su law-ng Iséning kapétunang-ku
then dir day-of Monday wife-my

né-ballì-e saù su Balut. 32. Taw rébi
pt-return-cpl again dir Balut three night

i sie sini. 33. Ià su Lajangasé.
pm 3p here I dir Dadiangas

34. Diménta su Lajangasé, 35. i
pt.arrive dir Dadiangas pm

pagé-ku mallasay karéngang. 36. Bò
brother.in.law-my critical indeed then

ià né-balli saù su Balut vuru vavinay-ku.
I pt.return again dir Balut and sister-my

37. Bò vavinay-ku
then sister-my

ni-pa-papì-e-ng Jose su Kaburang.
pt.NA-cause-accompany-cpl-of Jose dir Kaburang

38. Ni-pa-pé-paylé dimanda. 39. Diménta
pt.NA-cause-NA-file case pt.arrive

i sie su Kaburang ne-paylé dimanda.
pm 3p dir Kaburang pt-file case

40. Bòu né-paylé i sille saù su
after pt-file pm they again dir

27. Then my brother-in-law's wound was examined 28. because he had many wounds; there were eleven. 29. There were bullet fragments inside it. 30. Then that wound was treated.

31. Then on Monday my wife returned again to Balut. 32. Three nights she was here. 33. I was in Dadiangas.

34. When my brother-in-law arrived in Dadiangas, 35. he was very critical. 36. Then I returned again to Balut and so did my sister. 37. Then Jose brought my sister to Kaburang. 38. She filed a case. 39. She went to Kaburang to file a case.

40. And then after she filed she returned to Balut. 41. We(two)

Balut. 41. I kadéni né-ballì saù su
Balut pm we.two pt-return again dir

Lajangasé.
Dadiangas

42. Bò Jose nén-deà si Guberno 43.
then Jose pt.seek dir Governor

ni-dorong panavang. 44. Bò i Guberno mapia
pt.NA-ask help then pm Governor good

andi I Batantu vava-ng su Davo su
maybe pm Batantu inc.NA-carry-DF dir Davao dir

Rijonal Hospital sabapé Rijonal Hospital
Regional Hospital because Regional Hospital

guberno tatahuang-e.
government owner-its

45. Bò né-bellang Jose su vavinay-ku,
then pt-say Jose dir sister-my

vava-ng su Lajangasé. 46. Bòu
inc.carry-DF dir Dadiangas after

Lajangasé sumake PAL su Davo. 47. I sille
Dadiangas inc.travel PAL dir Davao pm they

simake PAL su Davo.
pt.travel PAL dir Davao

48. Diménta su Davo Guberno su
pt.arrive dir Davao Governor dir

landing-ke 49. Tatumpà i sille su PAL
airport-cpl arrival pm they dir PAL

ni-pa-sake-te-ng Guberno awtu-ne.
pt.NA-inst-travel-cpl-of Governor car-3p

50. Diménta su Rijonal Hospital. 51.
pt.arrive dir Regional Hospital

Na-paki-undan-eng-ke i pagé-ku.
pt.stat-reg-treat-DF-cpl pm brother.in.law-my

52. Gaedé taya mapia llese. 53.
but neg good wound.3p

returned to Dadiangas again.

42. Then Jose looked for the Governor and 43. asked for help. 44. And the Governor said 'It would be good if Batantu could be brought to Regional Hospital since Regional Hospital is a government hospital.

45. Then Jose said to my sister, 'He will be brought to Dadiangas.' 46. After Dadiangas he would take PAL to Davao. 47. They would take PAL to Davao.

48. When they arrived in Davao the Governor was there at the airport when they got down from the PAL plane. 49. The Governor had them go in his car.

50. They arrived at Regional Hospital. 51. And it was requested that my brother-in-law be treated. 52. However, his wound was not good. 53. The doctor wanted to remove his

Kapu-ng doktoré nga-teng pakele.
inc.NA-want-of doctor inc.NA-get-DF heel.3p

54. Sabapé pià ambullé na-sédà su dawng
because is bullet pt.stat-pack dir inside

u pakele su duri-ne. 55. Kay i
of heel.3p dir bone-its but pm

pagé-ku madi. 56. Sabape
brother.in.law-my inc-not.want because

kung-e, Matédù doktoré sallius-ng-u plastiké.
said-3p hurt doctor exchange-DF-of plastic

57. I siye nadi.
pm 3p pt.not.want

58. Bò kalléta labi-te sém-buang su
then when over-cpl one-month dir

dawng u hospital pià-e Maranaw alleng-e i
inside of hospital was-cpl Maranaw name-3p pm

Romi néndeà si sie su hospital
Romi pt.AF-look dir 3p dir hospital

gakadé boù Llanaw.
relative.3p from Llanaw

59. Bò i sie ni-vava-te su
then pm 3p pt.NA-carry-cpl dir

valle-ng Romi sabapé llese napia-te.
house-of Romi because wound-3p pt.stat.good-cpl

60. Gaedé deng pià ambullé su dawng u
but still is bullet dir inside of

avà-e.
body-3p

61. Bò i sille né-payling dimanda su
then pm they pt.AF-file case dir

Digosé. 62. Kalleta i sille né-payling su
Digos when pm they pt.AF-file dir

Digosé sém-buang, 63. bò ene i sille
Digos one-month after that pm they

heel. 54. Because there was bullet fragment crammed inside his heel in the bone. 55. But my brother-in-law didn't want that. 56. Because he said, 'It would be painful if the doctor exchanged it with plastic.' 57. He didn't want to.

58. When he had been in the hospital over a month, there was a Maranao named Romi Ompar from Lanao, his relative who looked for him in the hospital.

59. Then he was brought up to this Romi Ompar's house because his wound was all right. 60. However, there were still bullet fragments inside his body.

61. Then they filed a case in Digos. 62. When they had filed in Digos for a month, 63. they got their witnesses. 64. The fathers of Kaya, Maysa, and Halima were sent to

nangà-e saksi i sille. 64. I yamang
pt.AF-get-cpl witness pm their pm father

i Kaya, i Maysa, i Halima,
pm Kaya pm Maysa pm Halima

ni-pa-p[illegible] su Davo. 65. Diménta
pt.NA-cause-accompany dir Davao pt.arrive

su Davo ni-kivo-ng-ke, Isay ni-kasilaw-ng
dir Davao pt.NA-ask-DF-cpl who pt.NA-see-of

kamene?
you.pl

Davao. 65. They arrived in Davao and they were asked, 'Who did you see?'

APPENDIX B

History of Balut Island, free translation

1. In the old days, my son, we were the only ones residing in this place, there were no other tribes.
2. There were only two tribes situated here.
3. The first was Blaan, the second Sangil.
4. The place was still for the ancestors to reside in, not the Spanish and all other nations to reside in.
5. All other nations did not reside here.
6. Two nations were situated here - Sangil and Blaan.
7. And so, for a long time the people of old were hungry. (lit. beneficiary of hunger)
8. A long time after that when the old ones had been here a long time the Spanish attacked them.
9. Well, the place was destroyed by the Spanish.
10. In the beginning the Spanish fought at Timbeang above Batiang.
11. Whereupon, the Spanish, Sangil and Blaan had been fighting a long time, the Spanish could not win.
12. They went home.
13. At first the Spanish were at Maullung.
14. Then they situated at Maullung.
15. They made a barracks.
16. That is the fort there above at Maullung.
17. A long time after the fort was finished, it fell apart.
18. Whereupon there was a decent market at Maullung where the old religious leader before went marketing.
19. And so the Spanish shot at him (ben. focus) there.
20. When they shot at him, (ben. focus), for half an hour they shot (goal focus), they did not hit him (ben. focus).
21. He was not wounded. (stative)
22. Therefore, the Spanish stopped shooting at that religious leader.
23. Whereupon, the Spanish stopping like that, the Spanish were able to live here in this place.

24. Well, the Spanish resided in Naimavilla there, later up there at Vavontuve.
25. The name of that Spaniard that lived here was Sabidella.
26. And so there were still not many nations after those Spanish.
27. Whereupon, the Spanish were gotten by the Americans (stative). This place was given again to the Sangil nation.
28. It was not gotten by the Spanish. (stative)
29. It was not gotten by other nations. (stative)
30. Since (someone) helped with the Spanish.
31. If the Americans had not arrived from America the Spanish would have finished defeating the people of this place.
32. Whereupon the Americans arrived and sent off the Spanish.
33. And so this place became to (stative) the Americans - the ruler holding most of the world.
34. It was the Americans already.
35. Well then left (stative) for us, the followers, were these Visayans.
36. The Visayans were new.
37. The Indonesians were new also.
38. This was the start of our place.
39. The situation is that at this time the people that are the residents were not given their desire but instead they got what they wanted.
40. They got their happiness - the Indonesians, the Visayans.
41. The place was given over (stative) to them.
42. Because it was really difficult for the people at first; they did not have any schooling, they were (as) blind, they were (as) deaf, they were ignorant.
43. They even gave their yards and fields to the ones tricking them, since they said they were their brothers.
44. And so for a long time we were deceived.
45. These Visayans, they now were the owners of the place.
46. We had our place, it is no longer our place - it's theirs.
47. We were overcome by the people, that arrived getting (our land) for nothing.
48. These scattered the Sangil and scattered the Blaan.
49. They became the owners.
50. They became the rulers.
51. Therefore, these Sangil people did not have a lot of wits.
52. (They) do not kill people.
53. (They) do not enter evil work.
54. Since the Sangil are small (weak) people.
55. The Sangil are a cowardly people.
56. But there are still many others that say they would kill (crush) this Sangil nation since they say the Sangil are evil.
57. But the situation is that the Sangil are a cowardly people, they do not do evil.
58. They do not murder since they are not like those other nations.
59. Those are the ones that murder people.
60. The Sangil did not murder anyone, but their land was seized.
61. Well, at this time we do not have any land since they got it all (stative).
62. Just a very little went to the original residents.

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INTERSECTING FUNCTIONS OF TOPIC MARKERS
IN SINDANGAN SUBANUN

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0. Introduction

Lawrence Reid has postulated three common nominative topic[1] markers for Proto-Philippine, and he has discussed the various functions of such markers in certain Philippine languages that retain more than a single set of topic marking morphemes (Reid 1979). The present paper describes the common topic markers of Sindangan Subanun, a southern Philippine language in which the occurrence of topic markers ki, i, and su is governed by an interplay of factors: the lexical components of the forms themselves, clause structure restrictions, and two features from the discourse system of the language: the clear marking of thematic or textually prominent noun phrases (NP's)[2] by ki, and selection of su or i depending on whether the referent of the NP is within the spatial-temporal frame of reference of the speaker, or outside that frame of reference.[3]

1. Ki, a discourse particle

When the topic marker ki introduces a noun phrase, it unambiguously marks the phrase as thematic or textually prominent. Frequent use of ki has been noted in the setting of stories, to mark characters or props that are to become crucial in that discourse. In the body of a story, once theme has been established, ki is usually used more sparingly, but as the story progresses, liberal use of ki is also found in accounts of conflict situations and at the climax of the story. In hortatory, expository, and procedural texts, abstract themes that are crucial are set off from supportive subjects by use of the ki marker.[4]

Since ki is the topic marker of highest textual rank, its use supersedes all other distribution rules, both low level grammatical and semantic; it occurs in any construction, wherever discourse grammar requires marking of theme.

Example of ki marking theme character:

Naa, ki gadi' keni, minangay meligu' diag now TM king this went to.bathe there lawas tubig. body river	Now, this king went to take a bath in the river.

Example of ki marking thematic prop:

Sa' nda' niu suunay, kig[5] bastunku kini, if not by.you.pl known TM my.rod this metaas gupia ginunganen. high very its.power	In case you didn't know it, this sceptre of mine has very great powers.

Example of ki marking theme of expository text:

Sug betad dig pemulungan, nda' peksama, pu' ki TM custom TM hospitals not be.same for TM hospital, nda' peksama su ngalanen. hospitals not be.same TM their.names	Procedures at hospitals are not all the same, for hospitals are not all of the same kind.

Example of ki marking theme of procedural text:

Peksaaken nilan ki gelalen, megdiun asked by.them TM thing.called molding gulen. clay.pots	They are asking me about the thing called pottery making.

For a discussion of ki marking theme in hortatory discourse see Robert Brichoux (this volume).[6]

2. I as a grammatical marker

The i topic marker introduces NP's in the predicate position of equationals, and its occurrence in those constructions is governed by clause level grammar. The clause structures which govern the occurrance of i include clauses which equate two NP's, clauses which equate a pronoun and an NP, as well as existentials, pseudo-clefts and, with one exception, interrogatives.

In the examples that follow, it may be noted that the topic marker i introduces or identifies NP's with indefinite or 'new' (as opposed to given) referents, subjects which are not considered, in Austin Hale's terms, 'eligible for focus' (eligible as topic) in many Philippine languages.[7] It is the semantic component 'new' (as opposed to one of the semantic components of su, given, see Section 10) that allows the occurrence of i NP's in equationals. By contrast, Philippine languages such as Sangihé, lacking new vs. old topic markers, normally introduce 'new' subjects out of focus, or in constructions such as the equationals listed in the previous paragraph, but without a topic marker (see Lightbody this volume).

Example of i as predicate of a NP + NP equational clause:

Sala tawan i mibilin ditug sekayan...
one person TM left there boat
One person was left there in the boat...

Example of i as predicate of a pronoun + NP equational clause:

...kitu i gina'en.
that TM its.mother
...that one is the mother.

Example of i in existential clause:

...duun pa i gina'en.
ext still TM his.mother
...he still had a mother.

...nda'idun ma i gaan diin...
neg.ext ep TM food there
...there is no food there...

Example of i in the pseudo question of a pseudo-cleft sentence:

...iin laak ig pigdelendemu sug diwata...
what only TM thought.of.by.me TM spirits
...all I thought about was the spirits...

In interrogative clauses asking the questions 'who', 'what', 'which', 'why', or 'how', the topic NP is marked by i. However, in interrogative clauses asking 'where' or 'how much', the topic marker su is used (see Section 3).

Examples of i in interrogative clauses:

...ta' taway dun i ngalanmu?
what person anph TM your.sg.name
...what (lit. who) is your name?

...ta' ma laung ig bian getukan dun?
what ep rsp TM way guess anph
...what did they say was the answer to it (riddle)?

Tanda' ig bata'en dini?
where TM its.child here
Which one (lit. where) of these is the child?

Ta' ma i pegingkudingkud dun tu gulu gegdan?
why ep TM sitting.around anph ntm head ladder

Why was he sitting around at the top of the ladder (threshold)?

Ta' ma i kaalap nilan dun,
what yet TM able.to.be.gotten by.them anph

batu me na?
stone ep then

How could they get them, when they were now stone?

3. Su as 'given' topic marker

Just as clause grammar prescribes the occurrence of i NP's as predicates of the equationals illustrated above, so the su topic marker is the norm in the subject slot of equationals and relative clauses, as introducer of preposed topics, and as topic marker in 'where' and 'how much' interrogatives. NP's with su marker always have the semantic component 'given', and it is evidently this fact which prescribes its occurrence in these surface structures. 'Given' as used in this paper refers to information that is not only familiar to the speaker and hearer as part of their shared experience, but also in the sense of what Ellen Prince (1979:268) calls 'saliency': 'The speaker assumes that the hearer has or could appropriately have some particular thing...in his/her consciousness at the time of hearing the utterance.' Subjects of sentences (as opposed to predicates) normally contain given information, and are marked by su.

Example of su as subject of an NP + NP equational clause:

Asa kana' da sia gulangan su
but not ep hopefully forest TM

tinaunen...
farmed.by.him

Yet what he had farmed was not really forest land...

Example of su as subject of a Pronoun + NP equational:

...iin ma sug tinalu' mibiniya' na gupia.
it ep TM called behind already very

...it is what is called already being very far behind.

Example of su as pseudo answer of a pseudo-cleft sentence:

...iin i mikpesuun dun dinita su nga
who TM made.known anph to.us.incl TM pl

Mirikanu.
Americans

...it was the Americans who made it known to us.

Example of su as subject of a relative clause introduced by the universal quantifier, (whichever, wherever, etc.):8

Adin	laung	su	engayanku,	naa	ditu	laung	Wherever I go, then
wherever	rsp	TM	place.I.go.to	now	there	rsp	you go there, too.

amu.
you.pl

Su NP as introducer of preposed topic:

Su	ngag	sundalu,	misebu'an	ilan...	As for the soldiers,
TM	pl	soldiers	surprised	they	they were surprised...

Example of su as subject of a 'where' interrogative clause:

Uu,	Pusung,	ain	ma	lai	su	guliugmu...?	Pusung, where are your
O	Pusung	where	ep	ep	TM	your.sg.visitors	visitors...?

Example of su subject of a 'how much' interrogative clause:

...pekineeganku	sa'	santa'	sug	...I want to hear what
listened.to.by.me	whether	how.much	TM	its price is.

laga'en.
its.price

4. Su and i as remote and immediate markers

Sindangan Subanun displays a feature similar to what Grimes (1975:46-7) has called 'scope', by which in Subanun each NP in an active or descriptive verbal clause is referred to either as immediate (within the spatial-temporal range of attention of the speaker at the time of the utterance) or remote (physically absent, or removed in time by being past, future, or irrealis).

Grimes refers to scope in the Oksapmin language of New Guinea, about which Helen Lawrence says (1972:311, 314): 'Every narrative has a viewpoint in space with reference to which all activities in it are viewed. Every setting has its imaginary boundary.' Another language cited by Grimes in this regard is Jibu of Nigeria (Grimes 1975:46-7): 'The third kind of referential shift, scope change, is like the effect of a zoom lens on a camera. It changes the area that is under attention. Bradley's Jibu text includes an example of zooming in from an overall perspective to a closeup, with a corresponding shift in reference. In Oksapmin, viewpoint is marked in the verb morphology, and locationals are selected in agreement with the appropriate viewpoint. In Jibu, scope affects participant reference.

In a Philippine language, Isneg, Rodolfo Barlaan (1977:113) noted that 'in factual narrative, the focus marker ya is appropriate when the denoted item is visible to both speaker and hearer.' Similarly, for Casiguran Dumagat Thomas Headland and Alan Healey say (1974:24): 'Nonpersonal particles contrast as to present and absent. By the terms 'present' versus 'absent' we mean several things. Present can mean, in contrast to absent: alive vs. dead, known vs. unknown, general vs. specific, actual vs. nonactual, in view vs. out of view, present in time vs. past in time, mass nouns vs. singular nouns.' The present analysis owes a large debt of gratitude to the work of Barlaan and Headland, whose insights corresponded closely to comments made by my Subanun language teacher, Entong Anulay, that a su phrase 'would mean that the event had happened a long time ago, or far away, or was to happen in the future', while an i phrase would mean that 'the two of them (speaker and hearer) were right there, facing each other'. Weins (forthcoming) fully describes the same feature in Kalinga; however the distribution of remote and immediate forms differs somewhat in the Kalinga and Sindangan Subanun data.[9]

The point of reference from which immediateness or remoteness is calculated in Subanun is the speaker, or the speech act. Thus a storyteller, relating fiction, has as his point of reference himself, at the time and place of his telling of the story. Accordingly, topics in the story are referred to with the appropriate 'remote' markers. But when two characters in the story discuss items in full view at the time of their fictitious conversation, that conversation then becomes the reference point of their discourse, and they use 'immediate' markers for items present, and remote markers for items outside of their physical environment, or past or future in time. In nonfictional narrative remote forms are similarly used, unless the narrator speaks of subjects in the immediate 'here and now'. Most everyday conversation is thus within the immediate system of reference. Procedural, expository, and hortatory texts contain a preponderance of remote forms, but nonnarrative genres may also refer to situations in the speaker's immediate context, in which case immediate forms are used. In nonnarrative genres there are also many occurrences of the equationals and other structures listed in Sections 2 and 3, where a separate system of surface rules governs the distribution of topic markers. Examples of immediate and remote reference appear later; before they can be given, an intersecting semantic criterion, definiteness, must be discussed.

5. Su and i as definite and indefinite markers

In the clause types of Sections 2 and 3, surface rules governed the selection of topic markers which occur with NP's, regardless of whether the referents of those NP's were within immediate or remote scope. In active verb clauses and descriptives, however, the criterion of scope is operative, along with two other dichotomies: the given-new parameter discussed in Section 2 and the concept of definite-indefinite (see Chafe, 1970:186, McFarland 1978:151-155).

6. Su and i in verbal clauses

Figure 1 summarizes the distribution of topic markers in active verb clauses:[10] Numbers in the boxes of Figure 1 refer to examples, which will follow. Within remote scope, the su topic marker is used only for referents that are both definite and given. In a story in which the trickster hero, Pusung, buries food and then fools a visiting sultan into thinking he can find food wherever his magic staff hits the ground, Pusung first thinks to himself that he will have his mother help him pound the hulls of all their rice and slaughter all their chickens and pigs. At this point the chickens and pigs are remote, from the storyteller's viewpoint, and are marked by su.

	Definite, given	Definite, new	Indefinite, given	Indefinite, new
Remote	su (example 1)	i (no examples)	i (example 4)	i (example 5)
Immediate	i + deictic or modifier (example 2)	i + deictic or modifier (example 3)	(no examples)	(no examples)

Figure 1. Su and i in active verb clauses

(1) ...midelendem ni Pusung, talu'en tu
thought ntm Pusung said.by.him ntm

gina'en, gela'en begasay sug lumaun da palay
his.mother all.used pounded TM all ep rice

nilan, muka' gela'en pentiti'ay sug lumaun da
their and all.used slaughtered TM all ep

manuk, muka' babuy nilan.
chickens and pigs their

...Pusung thought he would tell his mother to pound all their rice and slaughter all their chickens, and their pigs.[11]

In the next sentence, Pusung goes to his mother and instructs her about the chickens and pigs, which are now in the immediate environment of Pusung's conversation with his mother. Note the use of i + deictics:

(2) Laungen, Ina', gela'enta biuay
he.said Mother all.used.by.us.incl pounded

ig palayta kin, muka' gela'enta
TM our.incl.rice that and all.used.by.us.incl

pentiti'ay ig manukta kin,
slaughtered TM our.incl.chickens those

sampay ngag babuy kin.
including pl pigs those

He said, 'Mother, let's pound all that rice of ours, and kill all those chickens of ours, and those pigs.'

Example of i + deictic with immediate, definite, new topic:

(3) Ui, yamu ngag sundalu, daap niu
hey you.pl pl soldiers seized by.you.pl

i getaw kia...
TM person that

Hey, you soldiers, arrest that fellow...

Example of i plus modifier (N is possessed) with immediate, definite, new topic:

(4) ...miuli' na dun i
is.being.healed already anph TM

bektutu.
my.hunchback

...my hunchback is being cured.

Example of i with remote, indefinite, given topic:

(5) ...sa' menamal da i getaw di
if do.intensely ep TM people ntm

kepebagel di ketubu' dinig begu ketubu'ay
increasing ntm living here new living

nemun.
nowadays

...if people work hard to increase their standard of living in the present generation.

Example of i with remote, indefinite, new topic:

(6) Naa inalap i gikam baluy
then fetched TM sleeping.mat mat.material

megatus...
one.hundred

Then they fetched a sleeping mat woven of 100 strands of baluy leaf...

7. Su and i in descriptive clauses

Selection of su and i in descriptive clauses is governed by the remote-immediate and definite-indefinite parameters; the given-new distinction does not appear to be operative, probably because the topic of a descriptive clause is subject rather than predicate, and therefore usually contains given information. Another difference between descriptive clauses and active verbal clauses is that with immediate, definite referents in descriptive clauses, no deictic occurs.[12]

	Definite	Indefinite
Remote	su (example 1)	i (example 3)
Immediate	i (example 2)	no examples

Figure 2. Su and i in descriptive clauses

Example of su with remote, definite referent:

(1) ...pu' melaaten pelum duun i
for bad then ext TM

meksimawi', melaat su ginaanen.
is.unconvinced bad TM his.breath/emotion

...for it will then be bad if there is someone who is not convinced, and he feels badly.[13]

Example of i with immediate, definite referent:

(2) ...melengas [illegible] dig penepetenmu ig
good [illegible]t ntm your.sg.clothes TM

penepetenku.
my.clothes

...my clothes are better than your clothes.

Example of i with remote, indefinite referent:

(3) ...gembagel ig sala'en dinaan.
large TM his.sins toward.me

...he has committed great offenses against me.

8. Remote and immediate scope in time margins

Time margins are introduced by a topic marker only when the reference is to prior time (hence, remote in scope from the speaker); the only occurring topic introducer is su, the remote scope marker.

Sug bekna, nda' pau panaw, delendemanku maa'
TM first not yet.I left my.thinking like

niin mendeku...
this I.am.afraid

At first, before I left, it was as if I were afraid...

Time margins referring to present or future time contain either no introducer at all, or a conjunction such as sa' 'when', selian 'while', etc. Within the time margin an active verb clause frequently occurs, and if the topic of this clause refers to the sun (i.e. a position of the sun, or time of day, in the Subanun reckoning), the marker is i (immediate range). Otherwise, it is su (remote).

Examples:

...mbuus na, sa' mektu i gendaw,
later then when at.zenith TM sun

lebu'ay diag dagat.
would.be.thrown there sea

...later that day, when it was noon, he would be thrown into the sea.

...laak nda' tagad mateng sug pasad
but not yet reached TM appointment

nami, sug diplanu, minateng na diag
our.excl TM airplane arrived already there

landing.
airstrip

...but when the agreed-upon time had not yet come, the airplane arrived at the airstrip.

9. Additional surface rules

9.1 Su as topic of postposed appositional NP

A postposed NP may occur in apposition to any NP or pronoun in the clause to which it is postposed. Whether or not its referent is topic, the postposed appositional NP is topicalized, and the norm for its topic marker is su.

Naa mitimud ilan diag balay, sug lumaun
now gathered they there house TM all

sinakup...
followers

Now they gathered there in the house, all the followers...

Referents of appositionals are normally given and definite. In those cases where the referent is new or indefinite and i would be expected, a zero allomorph of i occurs, governed by the surface rule discussed in Section 9.2.

9.2 Nonoccurrence of i clause initial or after pause

The topic marker i has a limited distribution in that it does not occur clause initial, nor after pause within an utterance.[14] The most common occurrence of the zero allomorph of i is in postposed appositional phrases; examples are also found in preposed topics, when the referent is indefinite or new, and i would be expected. In the somewhat rare cases where the predicate of a pseudo-cleft sentence is indefinite, Ø occurs instead of i, as the predicate NP in this construction follows pause.

Example of Ø allomorph of *i* in postposed appositional phrase:

...ma'ananen dinilan, Ø ganig tu kemet, Ø its.meaning to.them TM wrapping ntm hand TM gelab. glove	...what it means in their language is a covering for the hands, or glove.

Example of Ø in preposed topic NP:

...pu' Ø pasad nug diplanu, alas 8:30 because TM appointment ntm airplane at 8:30 dig siselem. ntm morning	...because the appointment with the airplane was for 8:30 a.m.

Example of Ø in subject NP of pseudo-cleft:

Laak iin i unaan gupia pesungkak dun, but what TM done.first indeed meet.with anph Ø mema'en. TM betelnut.chew	However, the first thing to greet him with is betelnut chew.

9.3 Zero as classificatory noun marker

Another occurrence of the Ø allomorph of *i* marks NP's whose referents have the meaning 'classificatory noun' (Chafe 118), 'is a member of the class of...' The customary surface structure is a deleted pronoun equational clause, filled by a single NP, or N, with the zero marker:

Laak laung nu gungutan, 'Ø sumusun?' but rsp ntm leader TM sumusun.bird	But the leader said, 'Is it a *sumusun* bird?'
...pu' kini, Ø pusaka' pa dinami. for this TM heirloom still to.us.excl	...for this, it is an heirloom to us.

9.4 Absence/nonoccurrence of topic marker with indefinite quantifier as predicate

In clauses where the predicate is the indefinite quantifier *melaun* or *metiba'* 'many', no topic marker occurs.

...melaun da Ø manuk nilan... many ep TM chickens their	...they had many chickens...
Aba, melaun Ø mialapen pait. wow many TM gotten.by.him bitter.fish	Wow, he caught a lot of *pait* fish.

9.5 Discourse function of ki thematic marker supersedes all other rules

It is appropriate to reiterate what was said in Section 1, that the topic marker ki, denoting thematic or textual prominence, occurs at whatever points the discourse grammar prescribes marking of theme. This is the highest ranking rule, and supersedes all surface rules, as well as occurrences governed by the semantic components definite-indefinite and given-new, and by considerations of immediate-remote scope.

ki supersedes i as the norm in existential clauses:

Adun niu suunan ki talu' kini, kana'
so.that by.you.pl known TM speech this not

ma pu' saukat tinalu'.
ep that trial said

This is so that you will know that this that I am saying, it is not being said flippantly.

ki supersedes ∅ (allomorph of i) in pseudo-cleft sentences:

Naa, iin i pedengegu diniu, ki
now this TM informed.by.me you.pl TM

minita'u ditug Bukidnon.
seen.by.me there Bukidnon

Now, what I am going to tell you about is what I saw there in Bukidnon.

ki in an active verb clause:

...Dempekan, uu Dempekan, uli'a dig bata'
Dempekan O Dempekan go.home ntm small

bentud, pu' mayan kig bagyu.
mountain for will.pass.by TM storm

...Dempekan, Dempekan, go up the hill home, for a storm is coming.

ki in descriptive clause:

...maika' na kig minita' balay.
few already TM seen houses

...already, few houses could still be seen.

ki in preposed topic:

Ina', ki nga gaan kini, subay uitenku
mother TM pl food this must taken.by.me

ditug tubig...
there river

Mother, this food, I must take it to the river...

ki in postposed appositional:

...ta' ma i gentukan dun, ki gatukta
what ep TM answer anph TM our.incl.riddle

kin manuk?
that chickens

...what is the answer to it, that riddle of ours about chickens?

10. Semantic components of *ki*, *su*, and *i*

From the distribution of *ki*, *su*, and *i* described in this paper, the semantic components in Figure 3 can be extracted.

ki	*su*	*i*
marked for theme	unmarked for theme[15]	unmarked for theme
definite/indefinite	definite	definite/indefinite
given/new	given	given/new
remote/immediate	remote	remote/immediate
specific/generic/ random	specific/generic	specific/random

Figure 3. Semantic components of *ki*, *su*, and *i*

It is apparent that *su* marks only topics that are at the same time definite, given, and remote in range. It is not possible, however, to posit the corresponding opposite components alone (indefinite, new, immediate) for *i*, because as has been illustrated, in a particular occurrence, there may be only one of these 'opposite' components involved, thus prescribing the *i* marker rather than *su*. Neither is it possible to relegate *i* to the position of a ligature (based on the fact that only its first listed component is constant); it clearly contrasts with *ki* and *su*, although with constantly shifting combinations of components. It is also in clear contrast with nontopic markers.

Note that the topic marker *ki*, along with *i*, may occur with new referents; one of its functions is to introduce subjects into the discourse. Once introduced with a *ki* or *i* marker, these subjects are then given in that discourse, and may be marked by *su*.

The fact that *ki* and *i* may have the component 'indefinite', carries the implication that Sindangan Subanun is one of the languages in which there are exceptions to the generalization that topics in Philippine languages are usually definite (see Schachter 1976:496-7, McFarland 1978:155, 182).

Definiteness is a category of topic marker selection in some other Philippine languages, such as Western Bukidnon Manobo (Elkins 1970:8). Zorc (1974) notes -*y* marking indefinite nominatives in Aklanon and Cebuano, where it is 'limited to set expressions, usually after pronouns, interrogatives, or existentials.'[16]

Mintz describes a topic marker *su* for Bikol as denoting givenness, marking NP's which have 'usually been specified in the context of the conversation.'[17] McFarland includes givenness in his concept of definiteness, of which he gives a thorough and extremely perceptive discussion (McFarland 1978:151-5).

11. Conclusion

In summary, selection of the ki, su, and i topic markers in Sindangan Subanun is governed by a combination of factors from the lexical/semantic system, clause level grammar and discourse grammar of the language.[18] The present study raises the following questions in the continuing study of Philippine languages:

1) What other grammatical functions or semantic parameters are to be discovered for Philippine relation markers?

2) In what structures other than relation markers and demonstratives is the immediate-remote dichotomy of scope to be found?

A broad horizon is still ahead of us.

NOTES

[1] 'Topic' is the function defined by McKaughan (1962:47): '...a certain substantive is the topic of the sentence, or has a primary relation to the verb. The topic in turn may have various relations to the verb, depending on what is required by certain verbal affixes: one affix indicates that the topic is the actor; another affix indicates a direct object; a third indicates an indirect object or referent; and a fourth indicates that which is used to bring about the action, or that which causes the action.'

'Common' contrasts with 'proper', which is applied to markers of personal names.

[2] NP=noun phrase. The following conventions are used in this paper:

NP	noun phrase
VCl	verbal clause
TM	topic marker
ntm	nontopic marker
ext	existential
neg	negative
excl	exclusive
incl	inclusive
anph	anaphoric pronoun
rsp	reported speech particle
ep	emotive particle

[3] The distribution of Sindangan Subanun topic markers described in this paper is based on 100 pages of text of four genres selected from data gathered from 1967 to 1982 in Baranggay Deporehan, Bayog, Zamboanga del Sur, Philippines, under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Many valuable insights were given by Entong Anuiay and our other Subanun language teachers, and by my SIL colleagues Robert Longacre,

Austin Hale, Jannette Forster, Elmer Wolfenden, Charles Peck, and (not least) Robert Brichoux.

[4] Further analysis is expected to reveal other forms, especially demonstratives, that are equivalent to ki in marking textual prominence. One such form already noted is kini 'this one', a demonstrative which often occurs before the proper noun topic marker si in folktales when a key character is introduced: Kini si Pusung... 'This Pusung...' (a folk hero).

[5] Orthographic conventions require the allo-forms kig, sug, and ig in certain environments.

[6] It might be argued that ki is a deictic or demonstrative rather than a topic marker. That suggestion is possible, but we prefer to analyze it as a topic marker, chiefly because Sindangan Subanun has, apart from ki, a full range of deictics that occur in the same pre-noun position as ki (keni, kini 'near speaker', kiin 'near hearer', kia 'farther but in view', kitu 'out of view'), as well as in postposed and independent occurrence.

[7] Porter and Hale 1977, Wendel and Hale 1979.

[8] However, two examples which are exceptions to this rule have been noted, in which i occurs:

...adin	i	meketampet	sukal	ditu	pustamu...	...whatever comes up to the equivalent of your wager...
whatever	TM	can.reach	equivalent	there	your.sg.wager	

...bisan	ta'	alandun	i	ubugenmu	dun...	...no matter what you ask of it (magic staff)...
even	whatever	what	TM	wanted.by.you.sg	anph	

[9] An almost identical shift in referential scope is described by Hohulin (1977:214-18) for demonstratives in Keley-i. This material was also helpful to me.

[10] When my husband, Bob, read this paper, he suggested Figures 4a, 4b, and 4c as the possible reworkings of the matrix shown in Figure 1.

Definite			Indefinite
Remote	Given	*su*	*i*
	New	*i*	
Immediate		*i* + deictic	

Figure 4a. Possible reworking of the matrix shown in Figure 1

Rules:

(1) *given* vs. *new* only relevant of *remote*.

(2) *su* has 3 prerequisites for occurrence: definiteness remoteness and givenness.

(3) *i* + deictic has 2 prerequisites for occurrence: definiteness and immediateness.

(4) *i* optionally has one: indefiniteness; or three: definiteness, remoteness and newness.

	Definite		Indefinite
	Given	New	
Remote	*su*	*i*	*i*
Immediate	*i* + deictic		

Figure 4b. Possible reworking of the matrix shown in Figure 1

Definite			Indefinite
Remote		Immediate	
Given	*su*	*i* + deictic or modifier	*i*
New	no examples		

Figure 4c. Possible reworking of the matrix shown in Figure 1

[11] A number of exceptions have been noted in which i is used for remote, definite, given referents, e.g.:

Haa, maa' niin, minuli' na da ig
well like that went.home then ep TM

sumusun.
sumusun.bird

Well, with that, the sumusun bird went home.

In the majority of cases, however, distribution is as shown in Figures 4a, 4b, and 4c. A possible hypothesis concerning the exceptions is that i is used for highlighting or vividness, as with Keley-i demonstratives (Hohulin and Hale 1977: 215), where 'the mechanism used to express highlighting is the substitution of near speaker forms for the otherwise expected distant or out of view forms.' Another hypothesis is stylistic differences among narrators.

[12] It will be apparent to the reader that semantic factors are involved in the absence of examples in at least some of the boxes.

[13] Analysis of the distribution of su and i is least complete in descriptive clauses. There are several disturbing examples of i NP's with definite, remote referents, as in the following examples where the hero, Pusung, is describing to his mother two chickens he has seen:

...miksama i gektuken, miksama i geksuden.
same TM their.beaks same TM their.feet

...their beaks are the same (size), their feet are the same.

Perhaps, here again, rhetorical devices are involved.

[14] In our total corpus on the language, only one exception has been found:

Ig pimulau laung kin siguru laung sa'
TM my.plants rsp those probably rsp when

megela'mu iin, pia laung inaan, aanen
consumed.by.you.sg they even rsp I eaten

mau.
I.by.you.sg

'Those plants, he said, of mine, he said, probably when you finish eating them, you will even, he said, eat me.'

[15] 'Nonthematic' is not a possible alternate label. As was pointed out in Section 1, after thematicity has been established for certain referents in a discourse, further marking is not needed except at crucial points. Thus su and i topics may be thematic (but unmarked) or nonthematic.

[16] Data from Reid (1979:17). Mintz's work was not available to me at the time of writing this paper.

[17] Again, data from Reid (1979:12-13). Zorc's work was not available.

[18] For examples of the topic markers in a complete discourse, see Robert Brichoux, this volume, which contains two hortatory texts.

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MITIGATION IN A TIRURAY SERMON

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1. Introduction
2. Deep and surface structures
3. Types of mitigation
4. Tirurary hortatory discourse
5. Example of mitigation in Tiruray
6. Conclusion
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1. Introduction

Hortatory discourse is that type of speech which commands or persuades. While the most efficient means of commanding someone might be simply to tell him to do something, this is often not the most effective way. One reason for this is that people often do not like to be given orders. Thus a command, although it may be quite clear, may not be obeyed because of its harshness. A more mild way of telling someone what to do is often far more effective. This is especially true in certain contexts such as when a person of low status is attempting to persuade or command a person of higher status. Thus, for example, while it is generally appropriate for parents to command their children quite directly, a child would be well advised to use a more mild approach when trying to persuade his parents.

While this need to mitigate (make mild) commands would seem to be a universal, it is especially necessary in certain cultures in which ascribed status and nonconfrontation are valued highly. Tiruray[1] is one such culture. Thus hortatory discourse is often mitigated, using a variety of methods to make commands culturally acceptable.

This paper is an attempt to do two things. First, it presents a framework for objectively classifying degrees of mitigation in hortatory discourse. And second, it applies this framework to Tiruray to describe the kinds of mitigation found in its hortatory discourse.

2. Deep and surface structures

Linguists generally acknowledge four types of discourse: narrative, procedural, expository, and hortatory. The purpose of narrative is to tell a story, whether fact or fiction. The purpose of procedural is to tell how to do something. The purpose of expository is to explain or describe something. And, as has already been said, the purpose of hortatory is to command or persuade. These underlying purposes reflect the deep structure of the various discourse types. The surface structure, on the other hand, is the actual speech itself, the features of which can be grammatically described in terms of specific occurrent features. Generally there is a predictable correlation between the deep and surface structure of the various types of discourse. For instance, narrative discourse generally has the surface structure feature of chronological linkage, as in 'He got up, dressed, and then ate breakfast.' Narrative discourse is also characterized by either first or third person orientation.

Expository discourse, on the other hand, normally employs logical rather than chronological linkage in its surface structure. Hortatory discourse also uses logical linkage, but normally has second person orientation as in '(You) do this.'

In most instances, the deep structure of a discourse is realized by its corresponding surface structure, the features of which make it easily identifiable. However, there are times when speakers will encode a discourse in a surface structure different from that which could be considered the norm. Thus, for instance, a story (narrative) could be used to persuade (hortatory). The result, which might be called a parable, may be far more effective in persuading the listener than a simple exhortation.

In the same wey, a hortatory discourse may have a surface structure of an expository discourse. That is, it may appear only to be explaining or describing something. Yet, the real purpose of the speaker would be to persuade the listener in a more mild way than simply telling him what to do. As in the case of the parable, an expository surface structure may be more effective in persuading someone to do something than a more direct exhortation.

When a deep structure hortatory discourse is encoded in a surface structure which is different from the norm for that deep structure, the hortation (command) is implicit or hidden. A more detailed description of these terms appears in the next section.

3. Types of mitigation

There are four basic ways to make a command more mild. The first is through the use of a particle, word, or phrase, which changes a command into a request. For instance, in English the word 'please' makes commands more mild. While this adjustment does indeed mitigate the command, it does not change the type of speech from hortatory surface structure to something else. Rather the hortation clearly remains an attempt to persuade or command. This kind of mitigation can change commands into requests and even into begging. It is the simplest way to make hortatory speech more mild, and will not be considered further in this paper.

The second way to make a command more mild is by making it indirect regarding the person who should obey it. That is, instead of saying 'You do this', the speaker would say 'Let's do this' or 'People should do this'. Thus instead of the normal (direct) command form employing second person, the speaker uses either first person plural inclusive or third person. The effect is that the listener is not singled out to be the one to obey the command. This indirectness mitigates the command.

The third way to make a command more mild is by not actually saying that something should be done, while still stating what should be done. Such commands are implicit in that they do not actually tell anyone to do anything. For example, the conditional sentence 'If we obey God's commands, then we are sure that we know him' does not explicitly tell anyone to obey God's commands. But it does state the desired action. The command element is what is implicit.

The fourth way to make a command more mild is to not even mention what should be done. Such commands are hidden because they only hint at what should be done. For example, the sentence 'I have to get up early in the morning' does not appear to be a command. Nonetheless, if it is said by the host of a party that has continued late into the night, it is really a hidden command to the guests telling them to leave.

Figure 1 shows how these last three methods of mitigation can be combined to form five types of hortations:

	explicit	implicit	hidden
direct (you)	DIRECT EXPLICIT (Feed me.)	DIRECT IMPLICIT (If you give me something to eat I'll pay you.)	HIDDEN (I'm hungry.)
indirect (other than 2nd person)	INDIRECT EXPLICIT (Let's eat.)	INDIRECT IMPLICIT (If somebody would feed me, I wouldn't be so grouchy.)	

Figure 1. Five types of hortations from three methods of mitigation

1. DIRECT EXPLICIT commands tell the listener to do something. This type of command is the most harsh. It is direct because it uses the second person (you). It is explicit because it tells both what should be done and that it should be done. An example is '(You) work harder' or 'You should work harder'.

2. INDIRECT EXPLICIT commands are more mild because they do not single out the listener as the one who should obey the command. It is this use of first person plural inclusive or third person which mitigates the command. Still, this type of command is explicit in that it tells both what should be done and that it should be done. An example is 'We should work harder' or 'People should work harder'.

3. DIRECT IMPLICIT commands tell the listener what he should do, but they do not tell him to do it. They are direct because they use the pronoun 'you'. But they are implicit because although they mention the desired action, they do not actually tell the listener to do it. An example is 'I wish you would work harder', or 'If you worked harder, you would make more money'.

4. INDIRECT IMPLICIT commands make a statement about what should be done but they do not actually say that it should be done. This type of command is also indirect in that it does not use the second person pronoun 'you'. An example is 'If everybody worked harder, they would be happier people'.

5. HIDDEN commands are the most mild. They are subtle because they only hint at what should be done. While an implied command at least states the desired action, the hidden command never even mentions it, or mentions it in such a way as to imply that the matter has already been settled.

A common method for giving a hidden command is by only stating the grounds (motivation) for obeying the command. For instance, the statement 'Smoking causes lung cancer' does not tell anyone to stop smoking. It only tells why they should stop. Thus the command is hidden because only the grounds are given.

Another method for giving a hidden command is what I call 'presumed realization'. In this very subtle type of command, the speaker makes a statement that presumes that the hidden command has already been obeyed, or has already been consented to. An example is 'I sure hope you didn't get me anything expensive for my birthday'. Such a statement presumes that the listener has already gotten something. It would be a hard-hearted listener who would not go right out and buy something, perhaps even something expensive.

Salesmen are experts in the use of presumed realization in hortatory speech. 'How many do you want?' presumes that the listener wants at least some. 'How much of a deposit do you want to put down on that?' presumes that the listener really wants to order the item.

Another way of giving a hidden command is the 'bandwagon' approach. When someone uses this approach, he implies that the prestigious thing to do is to follow what others do or have done. One example is 'Good citizens pay their taxes', implying that everyone should do the same. Other examples are: 'Professionals who appreciate the finest quality use our tennis rackets', or 'Everyone else has Dodo shoes'.

This description of hidden command forms is not intended to be exhaustive. There are probably other kinds of hidden hortations besides grounds only, presumed realization, and bandwagoning.

The above discussion of mitigation in hortatory discourse provides a framework to objectively classify commands into five types.

4. Tiruray hortatory discourse

The following is a brief description of normal (unmitigated) hortatory speech in Tiruray. There are two essential elements, as well as one minor element. The first essential element is the command itself. This occurs either as an imperative grammatical form as in Rigo moy ni 'You do this' or in a nonimperative grammatical form that for all practical purposes functions as a command. For example, Fatut rigoné moy ni 'You should do this'. Although this form could alternately be analyzed as a mitigated command of the direct implicit variety, I have concluded that the word fatut 'should' functions as an unmitigated command. This analysis is based on the fact that fatut substitutes for the imperative form in indirect quotations. For example, the following two Tiruray sentences are equivalent in meaning:

A. Béréhém dob beene mamo, Ule go.
'Tell him, "Go home." '
B. Béréhém dob beene bé fatut mule.
'Tell him that he should go home.'

On the basis of this equivalence, I have analyzed the word fatut 'should' as an explicit command word, even though it is not grammatically an imperative.

The second essential element in Tiruray hortatory discourse is the grounds (motivation). This element tells why the command should be obeyed. For example, the Tiruray sentence Non amuk énda bawagé no de, waléy fo mékérit i ni kénogon, 'Because if he does not marry her, that young woman will become very angry', tells why the command should be obeyed. It is thus the grounds.

A third but nonessential element in Tiruray hortatory discourse is background information. This may include the setting or description of the situation which created the need for the hortation. Background information has been alternately called 'conflict situation' by other linguists. My label, 'background information', I believe, allows for the inclusion of any part of a hortatory discourse which is neither the command nor its grounds.

These three elements--command, grounds, and background information--may occur in various combinations and sequences. Preliminary analysis suggests that a Tiruray speaker may compose his hortatory discourse using a variety of sequencing of constituents. Also the choice of rhetoric (that is, logical argument, appeal to emotions, propaganda, Rogerian argument, or coercion) is left to the speaker.

5. Example of mitigation in Tiruray

The following Tiruray text is accompanied by my comments which show the types of hortations used by the speaker. For the purpose of illustrating the hortatory structure, only a free translation of each sentence is given in this section. For the Tiruray text with its accompanying interlinear translation, see the Appendix.

A SERMON

> COMMENT: This sermon was given by a Tiruray Christian leader. Although some of the listeners had already embraced Christianity, about half had practically no knowledge about Jesus Christ nor faith in Him. Thus the interpretation of the sermon as a hortation to believe in Jesus seems quite valid.

1. If I think about all the writings that we heard this morning, they are all about the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ.

> COMMENT: Sentence 1 functions as a hidden command to believe in Jesus. It is a 'presumed realization' type of hidden command because the speaker is talking to the audience as if they already believe. ('our Lord Jesus Christ')

2. His resurrection is the very large hope of our being Christians because we know that Christ is not just a human.

> COMMENT: Sentence 2 functions as a hidden command to believe in Jesus. It is a 'presumed realization' hidden command because of what is implied by the phrase 'our being Christians'.
>
> There is also a 'grounds only' hidden command to believe in Jesus in this sentence. The grounds are that 'Christ is not just a human' and 'Christians have hope'.

3. But he is the real God who has arrived in this world to help and release all us humans from our many sins.

> COMMENT: Sentence 3 is another hidden command to believe in Jesus. It provides the grounds ('He is the real God').
>
> This sentence also functions as a hidden command to admit one's sins. It is presumed realization because 'our many sins' presumes that those in the audience have already admitted that they have sins. It has been my experience that few Tiruray would readily admit having sins.

4. Thus if we think about the reason he suffered and died, it is, surprisingly, because of our sins.

COMMENT: Sentence 4 is a hidden command to believe in Jesus. It provides the grounds for the unstated command, the grounds being that he suffered and died for our sins.

This sentence also functions as a hidden command to admit sins. It presumes that the audience has already admitted having sins.

5. He carried our sins because of the largeness of his love for us all.

COMMENT: This sentence is another hidden command to believe in Jesus. The grounds are that he carried our sins and loves us.

The sentence is also a hidden command to admit one's sins (presumed realization).

6. Well, because of his resurrection, we need to worship God sincerely,

7. so that we can copy the words of Thomas saying, 'My Lord and my God'.

COMMENT: Sentence 6 is an indirect explicit command to worship God sincerely.

Sentence 7 is a hidden command to believe in Jesus. It uses the bandwagon approach, that is, Thomas believed, so you should too.

8. This sentence of Thomas, if thought about, it is just short, but it has filled the whole world now.

COMMENT: Sentence 8 is a hidden command to believe in Jesus. It uses the bandwagon approach, that is, the whole world believes in Jesus, so you should too.

9. But why is it very hard to believe and obey Jesus?

COMMENT: This is an indirect implicit command to believe in Jesus. It really is a rhetorical question, the meaning of which is that it is not hard to believe and obey Jesus. Thus this is the grounds of the unstated command to believe in him.

10. God is very good and is a kind Father.

COMMENT: Sentence 10 is simply background information.

11. He does not want that there will be one of us who is lost or destroyed.

COMMENT: This is another hidden command to believe in Jesus. It provides the grounds for the unstated command, namely, that God will punish unbelievers.

12. Thus he showed his power by means of our Lord Jesus Christ.

COMMENT: This is another hidden command to believe in Jesus. It presumes that the audience already believes by saying 'our Lord Jesus Christ'.

13. He became a person so that there would be someone to carry all the sins of mankind.

COMMENT: Sentence 13 functions as two hidden commands. The first is 'grounds only' to believe in Jesus. The grounds being that he carried our sins. The second hidden command is to admit sins. This is done by the presumption that the audience has already admitted their sins by referring to 'all the sins of mankind'.

14. Yes, it is really true that Jesus suffered and died on the cross because of our sins.

COMMENT: Same as sentence 13.

15. But by means of his resurrection, we have participated in being resurrected with Him because his life and blood were spilled in his redeeming all of us.

COMMENT: This sentence is a 'grounds only' hidden command to believe in Jesus. The grounds are that he died to redeem you.

16. Well, now, as for all of us Christians, if we think about our hope, it is very large,

17. because by means of the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, we participate in being resurrected.

COMMENT: There are two 'presumed realization' hidden commands in these sentences. 'Us Christians' and 'our Lord Jesus Christ' both presume that the audience already believes in Jesus.

There are also two 'grounds only' hidden commands to believe in Jesus in these sentences. The first is that Christians have hope, and the second is that Christians will be resurrected. These provide the motivation for obeying the hidden command.

18. He said that we Christians will live in the future like Jesus.

COMMENT: This sentence functions as two hidden commands. The first is 'presumed realization' ('we Christians'). The second is 'grounds only' ('Christians will live in the future').

19. In that he showed us an example.

COMMENT: Background information.

20. Thus I hope all people will now really think about what is good.

COMMENT: This is an indirect implicit command.

21. Thoughts or actions or customs that are bad before God or before our fellow people, that is what should be removed,

COMMENT: This is an indirect explicit command.

22. so that it will be possible for us to participate in Christ's resurrection.

COMMENT: This sentence provides the grounds for the command in sentence 21.

23. In my opinion, every person who does what I just told,

COMMENT: This is an indirect implicit command.

24. It is possible to say that that person has participated in the resurrection of God, who is our Lord Jesus Christ.

COMMENT: This sentence provides the grounds for the command in sentence 23.

It is also a 'presumed realization' hidden command to believe in Jesus. This is because the speaker refers to Jesus as 'our Lord Jesus Christ'.

GENERAL COMMENTS: The speaker used mitigated hortation throughout the discourse. On the surface, the speech appears to be mainly expository, simply explaining Christian doctrine. However, when it is known that a large percentage of the audience is not Christian, the hortatory character of the discourse can be clearly seen.

The speaker's choice of mitigation was very appropriate. If he had used unmitigated exhortations and said, 'You are sinful people. Believe in Christ so that you will be resurrected in the future', he would probably have alienated his audience. He thus found it more effective to address the people as if they had already acknowledged their sins and believed in Christ. This use of 'presumed realization' hidden commands is culturally more acceptable than unmitigated hortation.

The speaker also employed a common propaganda technique called the 'bandwagon approach'. By this, I mean that examples are cited of various people or groups who have already been persuaded in the hope that the listeners will also want to join the majority. While this may not be an effective means of persuasion in some cultures where individuality is highly valued, it appears to be an effective technique in the Tiruray culture where 'going along' is highly valued. The speaker used this bandwagon approach to its fullest potential in sentence 8 where he said that 'the whole world' believes in Jesus.

6. Conclusion

Tiruray, like all languages, can make commands more mild by making adjustments so that the commands may not appear to be commands at all. This mitigation of hortatory discourse is especially necessary for cultural reasons among the Tiruray.

Quite common is the adjustment of second person to nonsecond person in command forms. This makes it possible for the listener to avoid being singled out to be the one to obey the command.

Another common method for mitigating commands is not to include the imperative component of meaning, while still stating the desired action.

Finally, the speaker may not even mention what action he desires to be done. Generally this hidden command is conveyed by only stating the grounds. Another way of giving a hidden command is to refer to the desired action as if it has already taken place. Such hidden commands are called 'presumed realization' because they presume that the command has already been obeyed.

NOTES

[1] Tiruray is spoken by approximately 30,000 people living mainly in the Municipalities of Upi and South Upi of Maguindanao province of Mindanao, Philippines.

Materials used in this paper were collected by the author in the years 1980-82 while residing in Muro, Upi and Timanan, South Upi, under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

The analysis of Tiruray discourse was done at a workshop held at the study center of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Nasuli, Bukidnon, July and August of 1982, under the leadership of Dr. Robert Longacre and with the consultant assistance of Dr. Charles Peck.

Very special recognition is due Mrs. Rufina Lagalangan who helped in gathering and transcribing texts.

APPENDIX

The following abbreviations are used in the Appendix:

foc	focus
plr	plural

é = /ə/ (similar to the vowel sound in the English word 'but')

A TIRURAY SERMON

1. Amuk fégitungé kuy kéluhanay de
if think I all plr

sulat énggélingoo tom ménbasa bé
writings heard we.incl read time

géfuwéne ni, falan fantag bé kétébule
morning this all about goal resurrection

i Kadna tome Jesu Kristo. 2. I
foc Lord our Jesus Christ foc

kétébule ney tintuwe dakél inam bé
resurrection his true big hope goal

kékristiyano tome non gétiga tom i
Christian we because know we foc

Kristowe békén fo férénoh étéw waén. 3.
Christ not very decompose person only

Endob Beeney tintuwe Tulus ménggumah dob
but He real God arrived to

duniyae ni témabang brab témangéy bé
world this help and release goal

kéluhana tome do kéilawan tidéw dob médoowe
all us plr humans from from many

do sala tom. 4. Bulu mélaw ké toowé tom
plr sins our if thus if true we

tégitungé i funa nuwe méntérasay brab
think foc reason he suffered and

ménléhu, sabaf wayo bé de sala tom. 5.
died because surprise of plr sins our

1. If I think about all the writings that we heard this morning, they are all about the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ. 2. His resurrection is the very large hope of our being Christians because we know that Christ is not just a human. 3. But he is the real God who has arrived in this world to help and release all us humans from our many sins. 4. Thus if we think about the reason he suffered and died, it is, surprisingly, because of our sins. 5. He carried our sins because of the largeness of his love for us all. 6. Well, because of his resurrection, we need to worship God sincerely, 7. so that we can copy the words of Thomas saying, "My Lord and my God."

Noboén i kéluhanay de sala tom non bé
carried foc all plr sins our because of

kédakél i imu ne betom kéluhanan. 6. Na
largeness foc love his us all well

bé kétébule ne ni, kailangan toow
because resurrection his this need true

fo fédakélo tom fédéw i kéféngintulus
very make.big we gallbladder foc worship.god

tome inok géiringo tom i kébéréh san
our so.that can.copy we foc word only

Tomase mano, 7. Kadna ku brab Tulus gu.
Thomas saying Lord my and God my

8. I ni sétaga Tomase buluk
foc this sentence Thomas if

fégitungén foko saén, émdob ménggénébén i
thought short only but filled foc

duniyae de ni béleewe ni. 9. Endob sedek
world it this now this but why

toow fo mérégén i kéodore brab kéunure
true very hard foc following and believing

bé Jesuse? 10. I Tuluse toow fo fiyo brab
goal Jesus foc God true very good and

mégédaw fo Abay 11. Mika de ké wén
kind very Father dislikes it if there.is

i métadin betom taloo no mébinasay de étéw.
foc lost us or or destroyed plr person

12. Mélaw fénggito noy barakat ne dob Kadna
thus showed he power his by Lord

tome Jesu Kristo. 13. Méntéfuwaléy étéw
our Jesus Christ became person

inok wén i mobo bé kéluhanay sala
so.that there.is foc carry goal all sin

i betome kéilawan. 14. Hoo, énda ba
foc us humans yes no really

8. This sentence of Thomas, if thought about, it is just short, but it has filled the whole world now. 9. But why is it very hard to believe and obey Jesus? 10. God is very good and is a kind Father. 11. He does not want that there will be one of us who is lost or destroyed. 12. Thus he showed his power by means of our Lord Jesus Christ. 13. He became a person so that there would be someone to carry all the sins of mankind. 14. Yes, it is really true that Jesus suffered and died on the cross because of our sins. 15. But by means of his resurrection, we have participated in being resurrected with Him because his life and blood were spilled in his redeeming all of

ménlisén bé i Jesuse méntérasay atin
untrue that foc Jesus suffered and

ménléhu dob kruso sabaf bé de sala tom. 15.
died on cross because of plr sins our

Endo dob kétébule ne mén-amung tom
but by resurrection his participated we

tébule bé Beene non férénawa no brab
resurrect with Him because life his and

daraén i réménanase bé kéau nuwe bé
blood.his foc spilled when redeem his goal

kéluhana tome. 16. Na béleewe ni kéluhana
all us well now this all

tom do Kristiyano amuk tuntayén i inam tom,
us plr Christians if consider foc hope our

tintu fo dakél, 17. non bé kétébule
true very large because by resurrection

i Kadna tome Jesu Kristo ménrafég tom
foc Lord our Jesus Christ participated we

tébule. 18. Ménbéréh bé i de betom do
resurrect spoke that foc plr we plr

Kristiyano méuyag tom so moso loo bé
Christians live we also future like goal

Jesuse. 19. I no fénggito no betom i
Jesus foc that showed he us foc

ufamawe. 20. Mélaw toow fo damén tuntayén
example thus true very hopefully consider

kéluhanay étéw bé lala i béleewe niy
all people time while foc now this

ati fiyowe. 21. I itungane taloo no kamamai
what good foc thought or or action

loo soy adate muhong dob adafay Tuluse taloo
or also custom bad in front God or

no dob dumo tome étéw, been i de niy
or to companion our people that foc plr this

us. 16. Well, now, as for all of us Christians, if we think about our hope, it is very large, 17. because by means of the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, we participate in being resurrected. 18. He said that we Christians will live in the future like Jesus. 19. In that he showed us an example. 20. Thus I hope all people will now really think about what is good. 21. Thoughts or actions or customs that are bad before God or before our fellow people, that is what should be removed, 22. so that it will be possible for us to participate in Christ's resurrection. 23. In my opinion, every person who does what I just told, 24. it is possible to say that that person has participated in the resurrection of God, who is our Lord Jesus Christ.

fatute kédanén, 22. inok fakay tom
should removed so.that possible us

géamung bé kétébule Kristowe. 23.
participate goal resurrection Christ

Karangé ku sénga ségétéw rémigo bé de ni
opinion my each person does goal plr this

do bénréh gu, 24. fakay mébéréh i nan
plr said I possible say foc that

étéw ménrafég tébule bé kétébule
person participated resurrect goal resurrection

i Tuluse sani Kadna tome Jesu Kristo.
foc God who.is Lord our Jesus Christ

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HORTATORY STRATEGY IN SUBANUN II[1]

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0. Introduction
1. Topic line
2. Prominence
3. Surface structure
3.1 Extralinguistic factors
3.2 Tagmemic representation
4. Focal content
5. Mitigation in the command element
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5.4 Hortatory verb clauses
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0. Introduction

Data and insights from the author coupled with the analytical skills and writing experience of Austin Hale produced a preliminary study of Subanun hortatory, or persuasive, discourse in 1977 (Brichoux and Hale). In this subsequent paper I want to confirm some of our earlier, tentative conclusions, to point up thematic structures parallel to backbone, and finally, to indicate something of the role that mitigation plays in persuasion.[2]

1. Topic line

In our previous paper, we assumed that the exhortations in a hortatory discourse form the backbone of that discourse. My recent study confirms this and points up the occurrence of a topic line as well. The topic line consists of the noun phrases and nominalized clauses that are in focus[3] in successive clauses. These focused items occur in preposed and postposed dependent clauses as well as in the independent, nuclear clauses. Position is not relevant.

Looking at the focused items in the two texts which I have added to the three used in our first study, I have found clearcut topic lines. The 70 sentences of Text D contain 55 items in focus, some, of course, in focus more than once (see Appendix A). The shorter, less developed Text E has 18 topics in 18 sentences (see Appendix B). The first ten focused items in

Text D which are not earlier focused items being repeated illustrate the thesis nicely. The topic line of part of the first embedded hortatory discourse in Text D is:

1) what will happen to us in the future

2) the way to go which will guarantee a reasonable future

3) we (inclusive)

4) the fact that we are known as backward

5) others (other ethnic groups)

6) the reason (we are behind)

7) the education (of some young Subanun)

8) what we learned

9) the reason (some of us have hidden what we know)

10) what's good to be done about it

Since we assumed in the earlier analysis that exhortations form the backbone of hortatory discourse, we did not look for further thematic content and missed the role that focus plays. The commands are the macro-structure of the discourse, but they would be ineffective as hortatory devices without the topic line. The topic line runs through the exhortations as well as through the hortatory motivations and statements of conflict situation. Previously we noted the shifting characteristic of focus. Now I can see the rationale behind it: it drives the discourse forward.

An outline of Text D will further illustrate my findings. The author of this discourse, Isis Guilingan, has divided it into four hortatory points, each expounded by an embedded hortatory discourse. The global theme is that the future is coming upon the Subanuns and that they need to do something to get ready for it. The first hortatory point says that Subanuns are behind, and those among them who are educated must use their education for the benefit of their people, and further that they must identify with them. The second point says that their ancestors had said that seemingly impossible things would happen in the future and what they said has been fulfilled. Now it is being said that God will judge the world. What are the Subanuns doing to prepare for this eventuality? The third point says that the young people must take note of the fact that most of what their elders had proscribed, would really have helped them get ahead had they only listened to them. In the final point, Guilingan says that the Subanuns are between a rock and a hard place, especially with respect to their traditional farming methods. They have got to prevail upon the government to help them out.

In addition to these four points there is a concluding section in which Guilingan suggests that in the light of the uncertainty of what will be done about the situation, the Subanuns' best recourse is to trust God to help them work out the future.

The discourse reaches its peak in the middle of the fourth point where the author, in an embedded narrative, tells the story of his own father's imprisonment for destroying government forest lands, which resulted from his following traditional Subanun farming methods.

In conclusion the ten sample topics cited above for Text D form the topic line, beginning with the global exhortation and extending to the first exhortation of the initial embedded discourse. The focused topic line for the rest of the text does not deviate from this trend. That is, it continues to trace the arguments marshalled to support the ensuing exhortation or exhortations.

Text E is advice to young men (presumably unmarried). The unique focused items in this text, written by Entong Anulay, are as follows:

1) the text

2) a grown young man

3) his livelihood in the married state (projected)

4) one he meets whom he wants to marry

5) the dowry

6) the provisions for the wedding

7) all he needs for the wedding

8) no lack thereof

and in the second point:

9) the advice of your parents

10) you and your parents

11) young people in general

12) their having been raised by their parents

13) the limit (in time) of their parent's support

14) how it is with married people

15) that illustrated by our parents' situation

16) what could happen with respect to our (married) life

17) people in general

18) parents

Since Text E is much shorter than Text D, we have quoted in translation all of the nonrepeated focused items, and they account for an uninterrupted progression of arguments leading from the two primary hortatory points: young men must learn from the wise in the community, and young men must heed their parents' advice.

The topic line itself does not tell what the exhortations are, and thus the discourse is incomplete without both the topic line and the exhortations.

Both Text D and Text E seem to be well formed, their difference in detail accounted for by degree of mitigation.

2. Prominence

Subanun has three separate, overt focus markers or case marking particles which mark topic. Felicia Brichoux (this volume) is currently looking into their semantic components, surface structure rules and discourse function. One of the three, ki, marks only thematic or prominent material.[4] In some hortatory discourses ki does not occur at all and it may be that in the mind of the speaker or writer the subject itself is not prominent, not highly important. Since ki is a focus marker, all noun phrases (NP's) so marked are also members of the topic line.

Again, this point can be illustrated from Text D and Text E. In Text E, just as the author gives his exhortations only after prolonged explanatory passages, so he seldom uses ki. The introduction and first embedded discourse have no occurrence of ki. In the second embedded discourse Guilingan reminds the reader that the Subanun's immediate ancestors had predicted that within the next one or two generations they would see metal flying through the air, floating on the sea, and running along the ground. It is only after this illustration that ki is first used in the entire discourse:[5]

D:19	53Kig	launanen,	minita'	ma	na	tu'u.	We have seen ALL of
	DET	all	seen	only	already	truly	this happen.

All of what? All of the things predicted of metal which, at the time, any Subanun knew, did not fly, float nor run. For Guilingan this is one of the most important arguments he has to offer. Some of the things which are happening now in the world were foreseen by our own ancestors. Therefore (presumably), one cannot merely close one's eyes and hope the problems coming upon the Subanuns will go away.

In the next sentence Guilingan says that, yes, the Subanuns have witnessed or experienced these phenomena. But what yet does the future hold, he goes on to ask. Then he uses ki a second time:

D:21 56Laak medengegta duun pa pagid ki but hear.we(inc) there.is yet again DET sungu mateng, 57su tinalu' ukuman nug diwata soon arrive DET said judge DET god sug tibuukan nug lumbang. DET entire DET world	We have heard, though, that there is SOMETHING ABOUT TO HAPPEN, that is, that God is going to judge the whole world.

The following two sentences comprise a hortatory paragraph which is appropriate to these two arguments: that previous predictions have come true, and that here is another prediction of even more import. So far ki has marked only highly thematic material.

Similarly the use of ki throughout the rest of the discourse is reserved for thematic or most prominent material. In D:25 Guilingan introduces the idea of the whole discourse itself with ki. In D:34 it marks 'all' again and this time 'all' refers to a set of prohibitions voiced by immediate ancestors. This is reiterated with ki in D:36. The final use of ki in the entire discourse is in D:50 where it marks the land which is taxed every year, the central theme of the final embedded discourse.

Anulay, by contrast, uses the theme marking particle much more often, just as he makes frequent use of exhortation. Seemingly, the more mitigation in argumentive style, the less thematic highlighting. Just after the introduction, Anulay marks the audience with ki:

2 2Sa' ki getaw gembagel na, if DET person grown already	When a YOUNG MAN reaches some degree of maturity.

There follow eight sentences in which it is not again used, since the focus is on activities contributing to security. Beginning with E:9 the author has moved to his second hortatory point and in E:11 marks the audience again:

E:11 23Kaas ki gembata' ndi' sumungal dig and.so DET child no resist DET megulangen, parents	So CHILDREN do not ignore their parent's instructions,

Going on to point up the similarity between the situation facing young people and that which faced their parents when their parents were in the position of providers for these young people, he says:

E:13	29Pu'	suuunanta	kig	betad	getaw	We know HOW IT IS when
	for	know.we(incl)	DET	way	person	people marry,
	mesuy,					
	separates (from parents),					

and this is right on the theme of heeding parents' advice. He continues to use ki frequently to mark theme throughout the remainder of the text.

Thus, in hortatory discourse there exist three strands of thematic material. There are the exhortations which form the backbone, the topic line interwoven with the commands, and the occurrences of the thematic ki at strategic points along the topic line. The topic line forms the speaker/writer's line of argument leading to or from exhortations. Giving a sort of zoom lens effect, the particle ki highlights the most prominent subject(s).

3. Surface structure

3.1 Extralinguistic factors

In the previous study we charted only the hortatory motivations, the projected conflict situations, and the command elements. Grimes' Thurman chart (Grimes 1975:83) gave us the basic ideas and arrangement for setting up charts for this study in which we used seven columns: exhortation (or command element), participant identification, hortatory motivation, conflict situation, evaluation or result, collateral material, and performatives. Without an astute informant or a fairly fluent speaking ability in Subanun, it would be difficult to apply such a chart to the data. There are, for example, extralinguistic or ethnographic factors evoked by the semantic components of the vocabulary. We allude to this in Section 4. An extremely clear example of extralinguistic hortatory motivation and conflict situation would be the following from American traffic control practices near schools: we see a number of children crossing a street at a marked crosswalk, and a traffic patrolman in the middle of the crosswalk with raised hand holding a sign. The only linguistic item is the printed word 'STOP' on the patrolman's sign, yet we can assume in most cases that the exhortation is quite intelligible and effective.

I will illustrate the content of the various columns from our charting of Text D.

Exhortation:

D:8 25Laak pegdelendem niu gupia sug melengas but think you well DET good penggulaulaan... to.do	Just stop and think a minute about what we ought to do about this...

Participant identification:

D:2 6ita kini nug bansa Subaanen we(inc) this DET tribe Subanun	we who constitute this tribe of Subanuns

Hortatory motivation:

D:1 1Naa sa' di gunaan nda' ta pa suunay now if DET ahead not we(inc) yet know ta' alandum i gempenggulaulata dig binaya' Q what DET happen.we(inc) DET behind gebii muka' nu gendaw... night and DET day	Now, with respect to what's ahead, we do not yet know what will happen to us in the future...

Conflict situation:

D:2 7mibinaya' na Ø gupia behinded already we(inc) well	We are already well behind

Evaluation:

D:3 9sungu na Ø metulan dig ditaas almost already they enter DET up	they are just about to make it

Collateral:

D:6 20Saaken niu, 21Mauma egludenen Ø? ask you(pl) why hides.he it	You ask, 'Why does he hide it?'

Performative:

D:2 5Pu' sa' nda' niu suunay, for if not you(pl) know,	In case you don't know,

The exhortation or command element corresponds to Grimes' event; hortatory motivation to his setting; conflict situation to background; and the others correspond with his usage enough to retain his labels.

3.2 Tagmemic representation

We also looked at the constituent structure of our two texts in terms of tagmemic representations (Peck 1981).[6] The texts considered here, along with the three in the previous study, in addition to ten more in our immediate corpus may all be characterized by the following tagmemic formula:

±Introduction +Hortatory point^n ±Conclusion ±Closure

Some form of the introduction is obligatory, but since sometimes the material which introduces the theme of the discourse is embedded in the first hortatory point, we left the 'Introduction' optional in the formula. The hortatory point is the only obligatory surface structure constituent. As communication by writing becomes more widespread, perhaps 'Title' will come to serve the function of introduction. Four of the discourses in our corpus use only their titles as introduction.

The examples below illustrate first a separate introduction, and then introductory information embedded in the first sentence of a hortatory point:

E:1 $_1$Naa, sug titulu' dig begutaw. now DET instructions DET bachelor	Now then (here are) some instructions for young men.
E:1 Naa, kiin migawid ma na amu now this held only already you(pl) duayan, iin i pektalentenay niu ki marriage it DET heed you(pl) DET kegleketubu' niu, mengimbaal muka' livelihood your(pl) work.in.fields and megimula. plant	Now then, here you are, having made your vows, this is what will occupy your attention, how to make a living, working in the fields and planting.

In the latter text the introductory material is highly stereotyped, but embedded: 'here you are, having made your vows...' The introduction of Text E is a noun phrase in sentence 1, which is unusual. Text D has a long introduction, too long to quote here (see Appendices). The other exponents of introduction that we have found so far are a single sentence or, in a few cases, a noun phrase.

The hortatory point consists, minimally, of a single sentence and, maximally, of an embedded discourse. It may be that other kinds of discourse may be embedded in a hortatory discourse, but we have not found any except explanatory material. We have found most further embeddings, but not all, to be explanatory types. The norm is for the embedded hortatory discourse to consist of only a paragraph or a series of paragraphs. These paragraphs are always arguments and evidence that support the exhortation.

The embedded hortatory discourse often has an introduction and material leading up to the final exhortation. The exhortation which points toward the resolution of the conflict situation delineated in the progress of the hortatory discourse is usually final in the discourse, and most often is the final sentence of the embedded discourse.

The well formed hortatory discourse also has a concluding generic statement, for example:

Kaas	iin	i	muli'	memikil	su	nga	getawa	So all of you
thus	it	DET	return	think	DET	(pl)	person	listening to me today
								would do well to weigh
mekedengeg,	megeklung,	meglingkaga'.						carefully what I'm
can.hear	look.down	look.up						saying.

Closure is a phrase built around the word daal 'all'.[7] Although it is not obligatory to this discourse type, with other discourse types closure invariably occurs last and usually does in hortatory texts. In Text D it is embedded in the conclusion:

D:66	149Naa,	daal	da	ini	telu'enku	Now, this is all I
	now	all	just	this	say.I	have to say to you.
diniu.						
to.you(pl)						

Elsewhere in our corpus we have the final phrase:

Daal	da.
all	just

'That's all now.'

We can't imagine more than a sentence in this slot.

The body of the hortatory discourse, made up of one or a string of hortatory points, has nearly limitless possible exponents. Nearly all the paragraph types listed by Peck (1981) except for dramatic types occur in the embedded discourses in our corpus. Dialogue paragraph does not, but we have heard it used in stereotyped settings among the Subanuns, such as litigation in which one of the elder speakers will use the gathering as an opportunity to 'preach' a little to the young people. He will use dialogue paragraphs in his talk.

Examples of some paragraph types can be found in Text D and Text E:

Text D, Sentences 44-46	Narrative paragraph
Text D, Sentences 5-7	Explanatory paragraph
Text D, Sentences 22-23	Hortatory paragraph
Text D, Sentences 28-31	Exemplification paragraph
Text D, Sentences 18-19	Rhetorical question-answer paragraph
Text D, Sentences 53-55	Contrast paragraph
Text D, Sentences 59-65	Parallel paragraph
Text E, Sentences 11-14	Explanatory paragraph

4. Focal content

In the previous study of Subanun hortatory discourse we referred to focal content. This is Hale's term and is not very different from Labov and Waletzky's evaluative functions in narrative discourse (Labov and Waletzky 1967:13). At once focal content refers to those surface structures which keep the audience interested in the discourse and to the underlying intent and message of the speaker or writer. It is not so much implied as it is evoked, and it is an obligatory part of the discourse rather than an optional part. I will point out this focal content in the succeeding paragraphs.

Text E was written to be published as a pamphlet to motivate Guilingan's fellow Subanuns, young and old, starting from the status quo, to move into the 20th century. The Subanuns who speak Guilingan's language comprise roughly 31/100's of a percent of the total population of the Philippines. If the five principal Subanun languge groups are added together, they account for about 20%, however, of their immediate population, that is of the Zamboanga peninsula of Mindanao. Even so, for the most part, they regard themselves as the bottom rung of the social or caste-like ladder. In Wolff's massive dictionary of the Cebuano Visayan language we find the following entries under suba 'river': "suban-un noun 1) person living near the river. 2) the Subano, a non-Christian tribe of Western Mindanao. a) having dirty habits, like the Subano's." The Cebuano people are the immigrant, but dominant, ethnic group of Mindanao, having supplanted numerous native peoples of Mindanao in the last one hundred years. Although we cannot document it, we have been told by Subanuns that sometimes when a Cebuano mother (in the Zamboanga provinces) wants to shame her child into more acceptable behavior, she may say something which means, 'You're just like a Subano. Wipe your nose!' Any group of Subanuns will switch from their own language to Cebuano Visayan if a single Cebuano enters the room or area. They regard their own language as inferior for important communication since school, religion, and commerce are all carried on in one of the Visayan dialects, Pilipino or English. Many educated and bilingual Subanuns, will not read their own language, although there are several books and pamphlets available in Subanun. We could aptly state their global attitude toward themselves as, 'The way to get ahead is to leave Subanun (language and culture) behind.' Indeed a small proportion of the population has done so.

Several sentences, phrases, and even words in the Guilingan text point to this attitude.

D:2 '...we, this Subanun tribe, are the ones spoken of when they say, 'they are well behind.' '

D:6,7 'Why do (we young educated Subanun) hide (our knowledge and skills)? This is the reason, because we are ashamed of our tribe, because among us Subanuns it is indisputable that there are many, many who are ignorant.'

D:8 '...so that your tribe won't be talked about behind your backs.'

D:22 '...be behind...'

D:29 '...food for the Turks...'

D:33 'We, the Subanuns, have no livelihood...'

D:41 '...as for me, I am suffering because of the way things are for us these days, we of the Subanun tribe.'

And so forth. Seemingly a good many Subanun have placed a minus value on being Subanun. Be that as it sadly may, this value is appealed to in this text.

Another value appealed to is 'togetherness', expressed primarily through the use of the inclusive pronoun as topic. 'We (inclusive)' occurs 21 times in Text D. The projected result of the final exhortation in embedded discourse four (D:39) states it explicitly, '...so that we will gather together to live (dwell).' The next sentence reinforces this notion, 'And if we are one as to the place where we live...'

Although a minus value, 'shame' figures prominently in Text D. Instances are so varied as to require a listing:

D:1 'Considering what lies before us, it is certainly true that we do not know what the future holds for us, but what is even worse is for a people not even to be looking for the way which will guarantee a reasonable future in life.'

D:2 'I'm sure that you are all aware of the fact that we Subanuns are known as backward.'

D:6,7 'Why do (we young educated Subanun) hide (our knowledge and skills)? This is the reason, because we are ashamed of our tribe, because among us Subanuns it is indisputable that there are many who are ignorant.'

D:12 'So, in my view we have got to share what we know with our fellow Subanuns so that they won't end up doing something inappropriate that we get involved in. (Same sentence continues) And, don't be ashamed to identify with them wherever we meet them.'

A value, not immediately apparent on the surface is rhetorical skill. As such it is in a state of flux for the Subanuns who, used to chanting arguments back and forth in litigation or in competitive story telling, now are adapting to barrio or baranggay litigation accomplished through clever argument, citation of similar cases, and the telling of traditional stories. Guilingan, though writing this exhortation, uses oral techniques such as the oft repeated, Pu' sa' nda' niu suunay, 'For, in case you don't know it...'

Other examples of oral technique used in Text D are as follows:

Simile:

D:3 8Su ngag duma, sa' maa' niin dagid DET (pl) companion if like this but pekpenaik di gegdan, 9sungu na metulan climbing DET ladder soon already enter dig ditaas... DET upstairs	Now, take other ethnic groups. If we liken all of us to those mounting the stairs into a house, they are just about to enter...

Metaphor:

D:5 17laak igluden sug tinawanen, but hid.he DET skill.his 18inisenen ditug dialem nu kaban... inserted.he DET inside DET trunk	...but he had hidden his know-how, he has put it in his trunk...

Rhetorical question and answer:

D:6 20Saaken niu 21'Mauma egludenen ask you(pl) why.on.earth hides.he 0?' D:7 22Kiin ig puunanen, 23saba' it this DET origin.its because mpiid tug bansanen... ashamed DET tribe.his	You ask, 'Why on earth does he hide it (his know-how)?' The reason is that he is ashamed of his ethnic origin.

Invoking the supernatural:

D:11 32Pu'	sug	diwata,	mesuunanen	ta'	bensaay	For god/God knows what tribe a person belongs to.
for	DET	god/God	knows.he	what	tribe	
dun.						
he						

The sayings of their forebears:

Sentences 16-19 (see Appendix A)

Exemplification:

Sentences 28-34 (see Appendix A)

A narrative:

Sentences 43-52 (see Appendix A)

By means of these rhetorical devices Guilingan is, in effect, saying that he is a qualified exhorter.

5. Mitigation in the command element

'The effectiveness of a hortation depends not simply upon the skill with which the verbal material is handled. Rather it also depends upon how the hearer accredits the speaker, what social pressures are brought to bear, and what consequences are likely to ensue.' (Brichoux and Hale 1977:75-95)

These sentences from our former paper point up the fact that Guilingan's strategy must be different from that of the authors whose discourses were considered in that article. In the cases of Texts A, B and C (and E here) the authors have a familial or political relationship to the people they are exhorting and can evoke social pressure to induce conformity. They also point out the consequences of failure to heed the commands they give. Although Guilingan uses the latter strategy, he primarily uses rhetorical skill. One of the chief tactics in his strategy is mitigation. He achieves mitigation by three means: 1) infrequent use of commands; 2) strategic location of the commands; and 3) syntactic devices such as polite forms, modals, requests, and suggestions.

5.1 Infrequent use of command elements

In the earlier paper we talked about the effectiveness of hortatory discourse, and one very significant measure of such effectiveness is the standing in the community of the author. Readers will note that Text D has very few commands, overt or covert, that is, direct or variously mitigated, while the other illustrative texts have a high proportion of exhortation with hortatory motivations and conflict situations sharing the same sentence with these exhortations.

The brevity of Text E and the greater length and development of Text D reflect the differing standings of the two authors in their respective communities. The author of Text D is neither a hereditary traditional leader nor one of the two highest elected leaders of his Subanun community, but because of natural ability he exercises considerable authority in the community. We can illustrate his standing by the following incident: He was at SIL's study center working with us on another project when an event, conceived of by the community as catastrophic, occurred in his home area. He was sent for and when we inquired why, he in all humility responded, 'They won't do anything without me there.' There are roughly 2500 people in his area.

The author of Text E, on the other hand, is 'first councilor' (that is, second in command of the lowest political grouping) of his area. Although the home area of Entong Anulay, author of Text E, is much smaller and has a population of roughly 200, his leadership probably only affects half that number. We cannot say that the differing features of the two texts are the only reason for the differing standings of the authors, but we can say that the more effective leader uses the more mitigated style.

Although Text D is 70 full-blown sentences long, there are only 13 commands, requests, and suggestions. By contrast Text A has nine command elements in twelve sentences; Text B has twelve command elements in nineteen; Text C has five in ten; and Text E has eight in eighteen. Guilingan is comparatively sparing in the use of command elements.

5.2 Strategic location of command elements

Where does he put them in his discourse? The first command element, which we will later explain was veiled suggestion, is placed in the introductory sentence and is global to the whole discourse: 'But what is even worse than that is for a people not even to be looking for the way which will guarantee a reasonable future in life.' While this is a veiled suggestion, it is also a claim which the remainder of the discourse supports. The reader is 'hooked' to go on reading. Guilingan is really saying something like, 'Granted that not knowing what the future holds for us is a bad deal, it is even worse--stupid--shall we say, not to be doing anything about it!'

In the first embedded discourse, D:2-12, the 'we' is identified and then a lengthy series of explanatory paragraphs gives the hortatory motivations and conflict situations appropriate to the first command element (which occurs in D:12). This section is interrupted once by a command which is a direct imperative: 'Just consider carefully then what's good to do about it...' The author has made his points that Subanuns are behind the times and that the young, educated ones are doing nothing about it. This inserted command, which is not substantive to the discourse, but rather tells them to think about the issue, introduces further arguments to support the coming command element, which concludes this embedded material in D:12. He seems to be saying, 'There's more I've got to say on this topic.' It is an exhortation to stay with him, not unlike the American, 'Are you with me?'

It is not until Guilingan has made his point and then reinforced it, that he gives his first command element which will lead to resolution of the conflict situation: 'So, in my view we have got to share what we know with our fellow Subanuns so that they won't end up doing something inappropriate that we get involved in. And, don't be ashamed to identify with them wherever we meet them.' (D:12).[8] Although the surface structure of D:12 is that of a modal (slightly mitigated) command, 'We(inc) must...' following the lengthy explanation, it has the force of an appeal.

Text D's second embedded discourse consists of a series of explanatory paragraphs (D:13-23), again which culminate in a command element, in this case a hortatory paragraph addressed to the elders of his group. It is highly mitigated:

D:22 'All right then, what do you senior citizens think about his latter prediction?'

D:23 'Don't you think you could let us (inc) get ready for this eventuality so that when it does happen, we won't be caught in the lurch?'

D:22 is actually telling the elders to consider the implications of the prediction, while D:23 calls for action on the part of all to prepare. These command elements don't occur until after Guilingan has evoked three predictions by the elders concerning phenomena of modern times, all of which had been fulfilled, and a statement of a current prediction. Based on the reality of the first predictions, he appeals to the elders to consider seriously the new prediction.

Once again in the third embedded discourse, the author has an introductory exhortation, but it seems to be to himself, not to push the elders. The section continues with explanatory paragraphs built around an exemplification paragraph which quotes the elders for a second time. In this instance, however, what the elders said was not a prediction, but a warning against taking up education, farming, and land ownership. The modern Subanuns who've followed this advice, have nothing to show for it but a hard life. Guilingan urges the elders to consider very carefully what has happened, namely the following of bad advice, lest just such evil consequences happen again. Again he uses a first person plural modal imperative, having 'softened' his audience:

D:37 'What happened as a result we must never forget so that it won't happen again.'

D:38 'As we know now, it was not good at all to have proscribed those things.'

The fourth embedded discourse begins with another 'Still with me?' addressed to his fellow young people:

> D:39 'Young people, please, pay attention to what I'm saying so that you can keep our tribe from dying out.'

Then it proceeds to show that Guilingan has a vital interest in the whole question of the tribe facing the new age foisted on them by the expansion into Mindanao of other, more educated, more economically sophisticated Filipinos. This discourse is the longest of the four and the most dramatic. It consists of D:39-65.

The largest single chunk of this embedded discourse is the embedded narrative in which Guilingan tells of his father's imprisonment. In the following lengthy series of explanatory paragraphs Guilingan explains the implications for Subanuns of land laws. This section is followed by a pseudo command of the form, 'This is what we could have done.' There is a particle in this sentence (D:53), however, familiar to Philippine linguistics, which indicates nonreality, frustration, and wishful thinking, sia. Guilingan quickly goes on to say, 'Of course the problem with that idea is that...' in D:55. This constitutes a possible resolution, but is quickly relegated to impracticality. There is a small explanatory paragraph following this, then come the final exhortations.

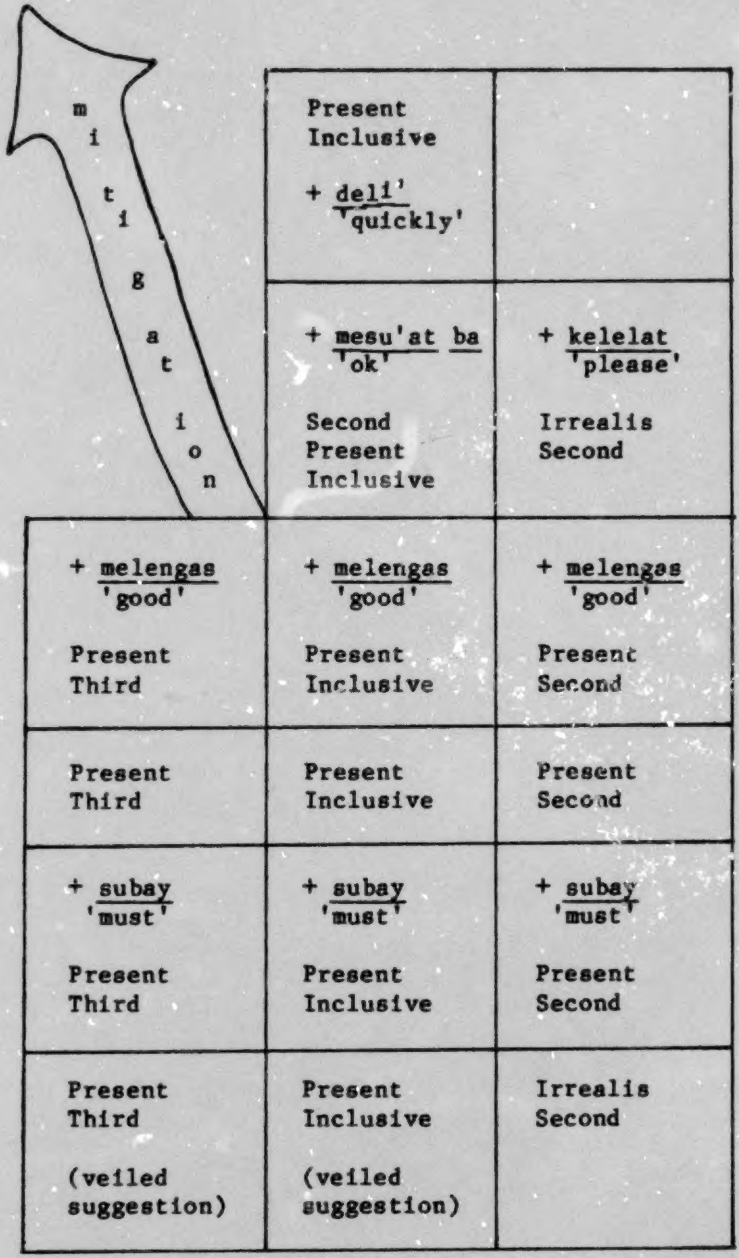
This fourth embedded discourse ends with an extensive hortatory unit. Thus D:59 through D:65 constitute a parallel hortatory paragraph in which the author calls on all his fellow people to prevail upon the government for help, specifically, to set aside for them a Subanun reservation. The exhortation is aimed at the people, but highly mitigated so as to take the form: 'In other words, the government has got to help us by giving us our own reservation.' Once again we have a long, sympathy-evoking series of paragraphs culminating in a mitigated exhortation. Guilingan's strategy is obviously to explain carefully, to evoke history, and to follow up with a mitigated command.

The coda-like conclusion is also mitigated, as the author wraps up the whole:

> 'Just let me add that we really don't know what will happen as a result of what I'm saying here...even so let's all of us Subanuns trust the whole thing to God.'

5.3 Syntactic devices

Labov and Fanshel construct a cline of mitigation for exhortations in therapeutic discourse. At this stage we prefer the matrix representation for Subanun shown in Figure 1. The labels Present and Irrealis refer to tense-like aspect; and Third, Inclusive and Second to pronoun categories. As one chooses constructions to the right and down, one's exhortation becomes more blunt, less mitigated.



	Present Inclusive + deli' 'quickly'	
	+ mesu'at ba 'ok' Second Present Inclusive	+ kelelat 'please' Irrealis Second
+ melengas 'good' Present Third	+ melengas 'good' Present Inclusive	+ melengas 'good' Present Second
Present Third	Present Inclusive	Present Second
+ subay 'must' Present Third	+ subay 'must' Present Inclusive	+ subay 'must' Present Second
Present Third (veiled suggestion)	Present Inclusive (veiled suggestion)	Irrealis Second

Figure 1. Matrix representation of syntactic devices

5.4 Hortatory verb clauses

In order to be sure that I get a firm grasp of what options there are for exhortation in Subanun at the clause level, I carefully studied all fifteen texts available to me to come up with the matrix presented in Figure 1. Mitigation tends to move upwards and to the left so far as I have charted it, but I am not certain all Subanuns would see it this way. The following illustrate these devices, top to bottom, left to right from the matrix:

Present, inclusive + *deli'*:

F:18 Mengamed ita deli'...
be.quiet we(incl) quickly

Let's quiet down now...

+ *mesu'at* *ba* + second, present inclusive:

D:23 60Mesu'at ba diniu pengendamenta...
okay Q you(pl) prepare.we(incl)

Is it okay with you if we prepare...

+ *kelelat* + irrealis, second:

D:39 96Naa, amu nu nga gembata', kelelat
now you(pl) DET (pl) children please

diniu, pektalenten na amu...
you(pl) pay.attention already you(pl)

Young people, please, pay attention to what I'm saying...

+ *melengas* + present, third:

D:61 137Melengas sia sukuden su ngag
good hopefully measure DET (pl)

pegbenwananta...
dwelling.place.our(incl)

It would be good to have it all surveyed...

+ *melengas* + present, inclusive:

L:3 1Kaas melengas dunutanta gupia si
so good follow.we(incl) well DET

Isus...
Jesus...

So it is good for us to follow Jesus well...

melengas + present, second:

N:10 Kaas melengas megungangen ita...
so good become.good we(incl)

So it would be good for us to straighten up...

Present, third:

E:6 13Mektimud kuarta muka' babuy...
save.up.he money and pigs

He (should) save up some money and pigs...

Present, inclusive:

D:24 64Naa, sa' kalukalu megdua'dua' su
now if in.case confused DET

For the sake of those of us who are still confused about all

ginaa niu, ndi' data tegelen...
emotion your(pl) not just.we(incl) force

this, let's not force...

Present, second:

M:16 Unutanku amu.
follow.me you(pl)

Follow me/just follow me.

+ subay + present, third:

L:3 5subay pengmia'mia'en sug titulu'an
must do.gently DET instruction

dinilan...
them

...one must instruct them gently...

+ subay + present, inclusive:

D:12 33Kaas subay pentulu'enta sug
so must instruct.we(incl) DET

danita samaSubaanen...
our(incl) fellow.Subanun

So, in my view we have got to share what we know with our fellow Subanuns...

+ subay + present, second:

E:9 20Subay pektalententan niu gupia sug
must pay.attention you(pl) well DET

tinitulu diniu nug megulang niu.
instruction you(pl) DET parent your(pl)

All of you must heed well what your parents have taught you.

Present, third veiled suggestion:

J:1 5pu' sebuten sia ua'en su kelegenay
for agree.to hopefully remove DET hardship

pebianan dig begu ketubu' nemun...
experienced DET new living nowadays

...because hopefully plans will be made to take away the hardships being experienced nowadays...

Present, inclusive veiled suggestion:

D:1 3labi na sa' ndi'ta tanan
moreso already if not.we(incl) all

penengaun sug 4dalan melengas sia
look DET path good hopefully

bianan pangay tug danita ketubu'an...
way to DET our(incl) living

...but what is even worse than that is for us not even to be looking for the way which will guarantee...

Irrealis, second:

D:8	25Laak	pegdelendem	niu	gupia	sug	But consider carefully then what it would be good to do about it.
	but	think	you(pl)	well	DET	
	melengas	penggulaulaan...				
	good	do				

6. Conclusion

What justified further study of Subanun hortatory discourse? Simply that we needed to verify the conclusions we reached in the first study. In the process however of looking in depth at two more Subanun hortatory texts while comparing our findings with ten others, I have found much more significant structures and devices for creating effective exhortations in Subanun.

First of all, in addition to the backbone discussed in the earlier paper, I have found both a clear cut topic line and a theme line. Another way to say that is to say that Subanun hortatory discourse marks backbone as exhortations, a topic line as a sequence of focused noun phrases which carry the discourse's argument, and a particle ki whose occurrence highlights the theme of the discourse.

In terms of taxonomic structures, Subanun hortatory discourse has a simple tagmemic representation and can be charted rhetorically as well.

Hale's notion of focal content was extremely useful to me in trying to discover what Subanuns are saying in addition to surface structures. This I equate with Labov and Waletzky's evaluative functions in narrative discourse.

Finally, making use of my full corpus of fifteen Subanun hortatory texts, I was able to outline three major strategies for mitigating commands. These were simply how often commands occur, where they occur, and how they are phrased. At least fifteen syntactic devices were discovered by which Subanuns mitigate or sharpen their persuasive statements.

My goal has been mastery of Subanun persuasive strategies. It seems clear we've moved much closer to attaining that goal.

NOTES

[1] This paper was prepared during a discourse workshop under the direction of Dr. Robert E. Longacre at the study center of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in Bukidnon, Philippines, June 14-August 20, 1982. Invaluable suggestions as to direction in this study were given by my consultant, Dr. Charles Peck, who also edited it. I would also like to thank Dr. Longacre; my wife, Felicia Brichoux; Dr. Austin Hale; and Subanun friends of many years, Ansulat Promon, Entong Anulay, and Isis Guilingan, for significant help in the preparation of the paper.

[2] Appended to this paper are Text D 'In the future' by Isis Guilingan, and Text E 'Advice to young men' by Entong Anulay. In addition, ten other texts were compared along with those appended to the previous study.

[3] The notion of focus, also variously referred to as 'voice' and 'topic', is familiar to researchers in Philippine linguistics, and there is extensive literature about it or alluding to it. Briefly, the notion describes a voice-like relationship between a marked noun phrase and the verb. In many languages the NP is marked by a determiner or case marking particle while the relationship between it and the verb is indicated by affixation of the verb and generally is referred to by such labels as actor, goal, site or instrument.

[4] *Ki* has a phonologically determined allomorph *kig*.

[5] The few abbreviations I use here are:

ANAPH	anaphoric particle
DET	case marking particles
EXIST	existential
inc	first person plural inclusive pronoun
Q	question marking particles
Ø	in running text for zero realization of the third person singular focus pronoun which is the norm
pl	plural

A, B, and C refer to the texts appended to the 1977 article.
D and E refer to the texts appended here.
D: or E: followed by a number refer to sentence numbers in these respective texts.
Subscript numbers refer to clauses.

[6] As Peck points out, the basic ideas are Pike's, and appear in such formulae throughout the works of and volumes edited by Longacre.

[7] Though not synonyms of *daal*, the words *deksu'* and *tubus*, both meaning 'finish', are also nuclear to this tagmeme.

[8] Presumably Guilingan could have incorporated the conflict situation and hortatory motivation into a single sentence with this command element parallel to the way the authors of Texts A, B, C, and E did.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Text D

Title: TUG LEMA' DENGLAG
DET tomorrow day.after.tomorrow

THE FUTURE

1. 1Naa sa' di gunaan nda'ta pa
now if DET ahead not.by.us(inc) yet

suunay 2ta' alanduni gempenggulaulata dig
know Q what.DET happening.by.us(inc) DET

binaya' gebii muka' nu gendaw,3labi na
... the future ... ... moreso already

sa' ndi'ta tanan penengaun sug dalan
if not.by.us(inc) all look.for DET path

4melengas sia bianan pangay tug
good hopefully way cause.go DET

danita ketubu'an ditug binaya' gebii muka'
our(inc) living DET ... the future

nu gendaw.
... ...

1. Considering what lies before us, it is certainly true that we do not know what the future holds. But what is even worse than that is for a people not even to be searching for the way which will guarantee a reasonable future in life.

2. 5Pu' sa' nda' niu suunay, 6ita
for if not by.you(pl) know we(inc)

kini nug bansa Subanen, iin ma sug tinalu'
this DET tribe Subanun it just DET was.said

7mbinaya' na ∅ gupia.
is.behind already it very

2. I'm sure that you are all aware of the fact that we Subanuns are known as backward.

3. 8Su ngag duma, sa' maa' niin dagid
DET (pl) other if like this but

pekpenaik ∅ di gegdan, 9sungu na
are.climbing they DET stairs almost already

∅ metulan dig ditaas, 10pu' saba'
they reach DET upstairs for because.of

mikpetuud ma ∅ tug titulu'an dun
have.believed just they DET instruction ANAPH

3. If we compare others with someone going up the stairs into a house, we can say that they are already in the house. And they are where they are because they paid some attention to those who had a higher level of knowledge.

nu ngag meketaas sinuunanen.
DET (pl) high knowledge.his

4. 11Naa, adun niu suunan, 12ita
now so.that by.you(pl) know we(inc)

kini, sa' mekiling dagid pektulug, 13pektulug
this if likened but sleeping sleeping

pa ita gusay.
yet we(inc) really

4. Another analogy might be to compare us to someone asleep. We are still asleep and sleeping on!

5. 14Iin ig puunanen, 15ita sia,
this DET origin.its we(inc) hopefully

metiba' na bata' 16metaas su nga
many already child high DET (pl)

gradunen dinita, 17laak igluden sug
grade.his among.us(inc) but hid.he DET

tinawanen, 18inisenan 0 ditug dialem nu
skill.his inserted.he it DET inside DET

kaban, 19adun ndi' da 0 maita'
trunk/footlocker so.that not only it be.seen

nug samaSubaanenen.
DET fellow.Subanun.his

5. The reason is simple. Those of us, and there are many now, who have got an education are hiding it. It is as if we had taken what we learned and stuffed it into the footlocker at the foot of our beds, so that it wouldn't be apparent to our fellow Subanuns.

6. 20Saaken niu, 21Mauma egludenen 0?
be.asked by.you(pl) why hide.he it

6. You ask, 'Why would we hide it?'

7. 22Kiin ig puunanen, 23saba' mpiid 0
this DET origin.its because.of ashamed he

tug bansanen, 24pu' kiin da ma tu'u,
DET tribe.his because this just only truly

Subaanen ma, metiba' pema ginduranti dun.
Subanun only many yet.also uneducated ANAPH

7. This is the reason. It's because we are ashamed of being Subanuns. Everyone knows that the Subanuns are an ignorant lot!

8. 25Laak pegdelendem niu gupia sug
but think you(pl) very DET

melengas penggulaulaan, 26adun ndi' da
good to.do so.that not just

amu melibakan nu ngag daniu
you(pl) be.talked.about DET (pl) of.you(pl)

8. Just consider carefully then what's good to do about it, so that our fellow tribespeople won't talk about us behind our backs.

bansa.
tribe

9. 27Pu' sa' nda' niu suunay, 28bisan
for if not by.you(pl) know even.tho

la' pelum ndunen pa dun pegeglud, 29sug
... also how yet ANAPH is.being.hid DET

danita, pekeSubaanen, bulug Subaanen.
of.us(inc) be(pl).Subanun still Subanun

9. I'm sure you also realize that no matter how we try to hide it, we act like Subanun, because after all we are Subanun.

10. 30Ngalanen Subaanen da gusay, 31bisan
name.his Subanun just really even

tanda' pa 0 melamug.
where yet he mix

10. We are Subanun no matter where we chance to go.

11. 32Pu' sug diwata, mesuunanen ta'
for DET God known.by.him Q

bensaay dun.
type.of.tribe ANAPH

11. Even God knows what tribe a person is.

12. 33Kass subay
and.so it.is.necessary

pentulu'enta sug danita
be.instructed.by.us(inc) DET our(inc)

samaSubaanen, 34adun ndi' ita diin
fellow.Subanuns so.that not we(inc) by.him

medela'ig,
be.involved.in.his.blame (if he does bad)

35muka' ndi' ita mpiid, 36bisan
and not we(inc) be.ashamed even

tanda'ta 0 pegita',
where.by.us(inc) he meet

37sembatenta.
befriend.by.us(inc)

12. So, in my view we have got to share what we know with our fellow Subanuns, so that they won't end up doing something inappropriate that we get involved in. And, don't be ashamed to identify with them wherever we meet them.

13. 38Naa, kini pelum guksuganku, ndi' melaat
now this also story.my not evil

tu ginaa niu, 39pu' kini, tinalu'u
DET emotion your(pl) because this said.by.me

13. Now then, don't let what I'm saying get you down, because in a way it's aimed at those who are basically proud.

ditu laak getaw metakabul. DET only person proud	
14. 40Dagid kana' ma pelum tiba'anen meksama but not only also all.its same sug betaden. DET ways.his	14. There are others who can benefit from it, I'm sure,
15. 41Kaas kini tinalu'u dadema,42adun and.so this said.by.me also so.that sug meketekad tug melengas penggulaulaan, DET can.attain DET good will.happen 43adun medelendemen Ø. so.that think.about.by.him it	15. so I'm also saying it to those of you who are coming up with some good approaches to the problem we face, so that you'll be thinking about the whole thing.
16. 44Naa, adun niu suunan su now so.that you(pl) know DET mipenggulaula dinita, 45di' ba talu' nu happened to.us(inc) not Q say DET ngag mekegulang, 46ita daw nug taman (pl) parents we(inc) hearsay DET limit da sesumpat sampay tug bata' gapu', only one.generation until DET child grandchild metiba' pa gupia maita'en. much yet very see.he	16. Let me remind you that what has been happening in our experience is in line with what our grandparents said when they said things like, we of this generation and the next would see a lot of amazing things.
17. 47Maita' pa ta daw 48sug putaw see yet by.us(inc) hearsay DET iron lumayug di gawanawan, 49sug putaw lutaw dig fly DET atmosphere DET iron float DET dagat, 50sug putaw gubek dig lupa', 51muka' sea DET iron run DET land and metiba' pa pagid ig tinawan nu nga getaw many yet again DET skills DET (pl) person dinig dibabaw- nug lumbang. here.DET above/on.surface.of DET world	17. They said we'd see metal flying through the air; metal floating on the sea; and metal running along the ground; as well as a host of other things arising from the know-how of men here on the face of the earth.
18. 52Naa, di' ba metuud da tu'u sug now not Q true only truly DET	18. I think we've got to admit that what they predicted has

tinalu' nu ngag mekegulangta?
was.said DET (pl) parents.our(inc)

pretty much happened, right?

19. 53Kig launanen, minita' ma na tu'u.
DET all.it saw only already truly

19. We've pretty much seen all of it happen.

20. 54Laak iini nda' pa ta suunay,
but it.DET not yet by.us(inc) know

55su dig binaya' gebii muka' nu gendaw, ta'
DET DET ... the future ... ... Q

alanduni gempenggulaulata.
what.DET happen.to.us(inc)

20. But, we still don't know what the future holds for us.

21. 56Laak, medengegta duun pa pagid ki
but hear.we(inc) there.is yet again DET

sungu mateng, 57su tinalu' ukuman nug diwata
soon arrive DET was.said judge DET God

sug tibuukan nug lumbang.
DET entire DET world

21. We have heard, though, that there is something yet to happen, maybe soon; that is, that God is going to judge the whole world.

22. 58Naa, sa' yamu dun nug
now if you(pl) ANAPH DET

mekegulangta, 59alandun kali' ig delendeman
elders.our(inc) what then DET think

niu dun mekatag dig tinalu' kin?
you(pl) ANAPH concerning DET was.said this

22. Okay then, what do you senior citizens think about this latter prediction?

23.60Mesu'at ba diniu pengendementa,
can.it.be Q to.you(pl) prepare.by.us(inc)

61adun ndi' da ita gusay mbinaya',
so.that not only really we(inc) be.behind

62sa' mateng na tu'u sug tinalu'
if/when arrive already truly DET was.said

kini?
this

23. Don't you think you could let us get ready for this eventuality, so that when it does happen we won't be caught in the lurch?

24. 63Naa sa' kalukalu megdua'dua' su
now if in.case be.double.minded DET

ginaa niu, 64ndi' data
emotion your(pl) not just.by.us(inc)

24. For the sake of those of us who are still confused about all this, let's not force anyone to take action just yet,

tegelen, 65pu' melaaten pelum duuni force for evil also there.is.DET meksimawi' 66melaat su ginaanen. go.against.concensus evil DET emotion.his	because we know how hard it is to be the odd man out.
25. 67Adun niu suunan ki talu' kini, so.that by.you(pl) know DET talk this 68kana' ma Ø pu' saukat tinalu'. not only it that trial was.said	25. I want you to understand that what I am saying is not being said flippantly.
26. 69Pu' mitekaden pa tanan sug tiba'anen, for mastered.he yet all DET all 70nda' da dema. not just also	26. Do I know all there is to know? No way.
27. 71Laak nda'en pasi' metekad, but not.he by.contrast master.DET 72duuni penenggi'anta dun. there.is example.our(inc) ANAPH	27. Even so, I can point out to you some examples of where we are now.
28. 73Naa, kini su nga penenggi'anta, now this DET (pl) example.our(inc) 74migenat pa ini tu nga ginepu'ay nu ngag frommed yet this DET (pl) ancestor DET (pl) bansa Subaanen. tribe Subanun	28. Listen to this which comes down to us from our own ancestors.
29. 75(1) Di' ba talu' nu nga mekegulang, (1) not Q say DET (pl) elders 76ndi' daw mpia Ø meguskila, 77pu' not hearsay good he attend.school because paan Ø dig Turkus? feed he DET Turks	29. (1)Didn't the elders tell us that it wasn't good to go to school because we'd be fed to the Turks?
30. 78(2) Di' ba talu' nu nga mekegulang, (2) not Q say DET (pl) elders 79ndi' pia sa' memula Ø ngag niug, 80pu' not good if plant he (pl) coconut because kiin, meketepu Ø? this can.lead.to.retribution for.him	30. (2)Didn't the elders tell us that it wasn't good to plant coconuts because doing so would bring supernatural retribution?

31. 81(3) Di' ba talu' nu nga mekegulang, (3) not Q say DET (pl) elders 82ndi' pia sa' megbayad Ø glupa', 83pu' not good if pay he land because kiin, meketepu Ø da this can.lead.to.retribution for.him only pagid? also	31. (3)Didn't the elders tell us that it wasn't good to pay land taxes because to do so would also bring down supernatural retribution?
32. 84Naa, kini launanta, ta' ma now this all.of.us(inc) Q only alanduni mipenggulaulata? what.DET happened.our(inc)	32. Now then, in light of that, what has happened to us, all of us?
33.85Ita nu ngag Subaanen, nda'iduni we(inc) DET (pl) Subanun there.is.no.DET ketubu'ta, 86pu' misaba' ma ita nu life.our(inc) because caused only we(inc) DET nga talu' nu nga mekegulang. (pl) say DET (pl) elders	33. I'll tell you what has happened: we Subanuns have been left with nothing to live on, and we can blame it all on what the elders told us.
34. 87Laak masi' kig launanen kini, but what.do.you.know DET all.of.it this kepianan da sia. good.for only hopefully.	34. Because, and pay attention to this: all of what they told us not to do would have been good for us, had we done it.
35. 88Laak pigbelusan ita nilan. but lied.to us(inc) they	35. They LIED to us.
36. 89Iin daan pegdelendemen nilan, it previously are.thinking they 90pegakus ma ilan dig benwa, 91kaas tinalu' leaving only they DET world and.so said nilan ki ma'antu kitu. they DET like.that that	36. They had been thinking that it wouldn't affect them; they were leaving the world, so they told us that.
37. 92Naa, kini pelum mipenggulaula kini, subay now this also happened this must betangen na ta ditug dialem be.placed already we(inc) DET inside	37. What happened as a result, we must never forget, so that it won't happen again.

delendemanta, 93adun ndi' na puli'
thought.our(inc) so.that not already again

penggulaula ditug binaya' gebii muka' nu
happen DET ... the future ...

gendaw.
...

38. 94Pu' kiin, misuunan ma ta,
for this knew only we(inc)

95masi' kana' Ø ma mpia
what.do.you.know not it only good

penggulaulaan.
happen

38. As we know now it was not good at all to have proscribed those things.

39. 96Naa, amu nu nga gembata', kelelat
now you(pl) DET (pl) children please

diniu, pektalenten na amu,
by.you(pl) pay.attention already you(pl)

97adun metindeg da niu sug danita
so.that stand just by.you DET of.our(inc)

bansa.
tribe

39. Young people, please, pay attention to what I'm saying, so that you can keep our tribe from dying out.

40. 98Ditu saanta' endaw, mabu' peglelatan
DET how.many days perhaps be.pitied

da ita nug diwata Megbebaya' dinig
just we(inc) DET god God DET

dibabaw lumbang 99adun metimbang-timbang
on.surface world so.that balance.somewhat

da sug tiba'an getaw dinig tibuukan benwa.
just DET all people DET entire world

40. Maybe some day God Almighty will take pity on us here in the world, so that everyone on earth will have more or less the same opportunity.

41. 100Naa, sa' nda'niu suunay, 101naku',
now if not.you(pl) know I

melegenanu gupia saba' da dig danita
suffer.I very due.to just DET our(inc)

kebetang nemun, nu ngag bansa Subaanen.
situation nowadays DET (pl) tribe Subanun

41. This whole question is not just academic to me, I've actually suffered because of our situation.

42. 102Mekelelat laak ita gupia, 103pu'
pitiful only we(inc) very because

nda'iduni seliganta.
there.is.no.DET trust.in.our(inc)

42. We Subanuns are pitiful because we have nothing and no one to trust in.

43. 104Pu' ukitu laak diniu di
for relate.I only to.you(pl) DET

mipenggulaula nu gama'u.
happened DET father.my

43. Let me tell you about what happened to my father.

44. 105Iin, tuminaun Ø dia da sakup
he cleared.forest he DET just part

nug lupa'en.
DET land.his

44. One year he cleared the forest on part of our land.

45. 106Bena' misuunan nu guardamunti,
when knew DET forest.guard

107sinumbung Ø dayun tu
complaint.was.filed.against him then DET

gupisina.
municipal.office

45. When the company forest concession guards found out about it, they had him arraigned.

46. 108Naa, bena' misumbung
now when complaint.was.filed.against

Ø, 109linaawanen Ø dayun, 110pu' kini
him fetched.he him then because this

pitaweg ma Ø nilan.
called only him they

46. When that happened, they came after him, because he had been called for by the government.

47. 111Naa, bena' minateng Ø ditug lunsud,
now when arrived he DET town

112piniriau Ø dayun
jailed he then.

47. When he got to town, he was put in jail.

48. 113Pu' kali' pektalu' su gubirnu,
for then says DET government

114subay Ø pirisuun pu' tuminaun Ø
must he imprison because cleared.forest he

di gulangan.
DET virgin.forest

48. For the government says that the person who clears the forest must be imprisoned for it.

49. 115Asa kana' Ø da sia
since not it just hopefully

gulangan sug tinaunen, 116letin da,
virgin.forest DET cleared.he regrowth just

117muka' Ø sakup pa pagid tug lupa'en.
and it part yet also DET land.his

49. In this case, however, it wasn't real forest, just regrowth on part of our land.

50. 118Pu' masi' bisan pelum kig
for what.do.you.know even also DET

lupa', kada taun, pegbiadanta, 119kana' Ø da
land each year pay.we(inc) not it just

danita sa' nda' pa mesurbi, 120laak sug
our(inc) if not yet surveyed but DET

siinta iini pigalap.
money.our(inc) he.DET taken

50. But, as it happens, even land has to be paid for every year, yet it isn't ours before it's been surveyed, even though our money is taken for it in the form of taxes.

51. 121Naa, kini gembagel da sia
now this large just hopefully

limbung.
extortion

51. Isn't this a kind of exploitation.

52. 122Pu' sa' kana' Ø da limbung,
for if not it just extortion

123mauma dema pebayad ma dinita
why.on.earth also cause.to.pay only us(inc)

sug lupa' nga kana' pema danita 124sa'
DET land (pl) not yet.also ours(inc) if

nda' pa Ø mesurbi?
not yet it surveyed

52. If it isn't exploitation, why do we have to pay for the land, if it's not yet ours, not having been surveyed?

53. 125Naa, iin daan sia melengas.
now it truly hopefully good

53. This is what ought to be done.

54. 126Segay nda' pa mesurbi Ø, 127ndi'
while not yet surveyed it no

na Ø deli' biadan.
already it please pay

54. While it's still not surveyed, don't require payment.

55. 128Laak iin na pelumi prublima dun,
but he already also.DET problem ANAPH

55. Of course the problem with that idea is that if we don't

129sa' ndi'ta biadan ø 130lain ma
if not.we(inc) pay for.it another only

na puli' malap dun.
already again gets ANAPH

pay, someone else will get the land.

56. 131Kaas laungku ita nug bansa
and.so think.I we(inc) DET tribe

Subaanen, mekelelat-lelat ø gupia.
Subanun pitiful we very

56. That's why in my view we Subanuns are most to be pitied.

57. 132Pu' labi na nda' na lain
for moreso already not already other

gengayanta.
destination.our(inc)

57. But we have nowhere to turn.

58. 133Pu' sa' lupa da dig mesempel dagat,
for if land just DET near sea

migelo' na ø Bisaya'.
consumed already it Visayan

58. The land, for example, near the sea has all been acquired by Visayans.

59. 134Naa, subay sa' sia melelat dinita
now must if hopefully pity us(inc)

su gubirnu, 135begayan na ita niin
DET government be.given already we(inc) he

pegbenwananta.
living.place.our(inc)

59. In other words, the government has got to help us by giving us our own reservation.

60. 136Ndi' ita dega melemugan nu ngag
not we(inc) overly mix.with DET (pl)

Bisaya'.
Visayan

60. We won't be mixed with Visayans there.

61. 137Melengas sia sukuden su ngag
good hopefully measure DET (pl)

pegbenwananta, 138adun su ngag
living.place.our(inc) so.that DET (pl)

Subaanen, dig lain benwa.
Subanun DET another place

61. It'd be good to have it all surveyed so that the Subanuns would have a separate place to live.

62. 139Labi na sug duma, migbenwa ø
moreso already DET other lived he

62. Especially those who now live off the forest, because if

laak dig dialem gulangan, 140sa' maita' ø nu
but DET inside forest if seen he DET

gubirnu, 141pirisuun ø.
government imprison he

they were caught by the government as is, they would have to be imprisoned

63. 142Pu' kiin, mikesaba' ma ø gulangan.
for this harmed only he forest

63. for destroying the forest.

64. 143Naa, adun ndi'ta mesaba' su nga
now so.that no.we(inc) harm DET (pl)

gayu, 144menengi ita kelelat tu
tree beg we(inc) consideration DET

gubirnu, 145sukudan ita lupa'
government measure for.us(inc) land

pegbenwananta, 146adun mekpungun
living.place.our(inc) so.that gather

na ita megbenwa.
already we(inc) live

64. So then, to avoid being the cause of the decimation of the forests, let's plead with the govenment to help us, measuring off a place for us to live, so that we can all live together there.

65. 147Muka' sa' salabuuk na su
and if one already DET

pegbenwananta, 148melemu su kebegay
living.place.our(inc) easy DET giving

dinita hinabang nu gubirnu.
to.us(inc) aid DET government

65. And if we had one place for all of us to live in, it would be easier for the government to meet our needs.

66. 149Naa, daal da ini telu'enku diniu.
now all just this say.I to.you(pl)

66. That's about all I have to say.

67. 150Laak nda'ta suunay su di gunaan
but not.we(inc) know DET DET ahead

151sa' mesu'at ma su talu' kini 152sa' nda'
if can.be only DET say this if not

ma.
only

67. Just let me add that we really don't know what will happen as a result of what I'm saying here, whether it will turn out or not.

68. 153Laak saligta sug delendemanta,
but trust.we(inc) DET thoughts.our(inc)

ita nug launan bansa Subaanen, ditu na
we(inc) DET all tribe Subanun DET already

68. But even so, let's all of us Subanuns trust the whole thing to God.

laak nug diwata.
only DET God/gods

69. 154Pu' nda' ig lain megbaya' subay
for no DET other control unless

diwata da.
God/gods only

69. Because, after all, there is no one else who controls everything the way God does.

70. 155Mabu' pedelendem tu
perhaps cause.think DET

gubirnuta nga gebangan ita
government.our(inc) (pl) help we(inc)

nilay.
they

70. Perhaps he will bring our need to the government's attention.

APPENDIX B

Text E

1. 1Naa, sug titulu' dig begutaw.
now DET instructions DET young.bachelors

1. Here's an advice-to-young-men text.

2. 2Sa' ki getaw gembagel na, 3subay
if DET person mature already must

mektu'un di gungangen, 4adun sa' megawid
learn.he DET wise.one so.that when holds

duayan, 5ndi' mesebu'an duni
marriage not be.confused ANAPH.DET

kegleketubu'en.
making.a.living.his

2. When a young man reaches some degree of maturity, he must learn from those the community regards as good men, so that when he gets married, he won't be dismayed at earning a living.

3. 6Ndi' megdupang.
not do.bad.he.

3. He won't fool around.

4. 7Pu' sa' megdupang, 8maulayun dun.
for if does.bad.he become.habitual ANAPH

4. Because a person who does, gets in the habit of living that way.

5. 9Megleketubu', 10meksukat pedaan
earn.a.living.he gets.he in.advance

5. He'll earn a living and he'll earn ahead of time the money to

gastunen, 11adun sa' duun nai expenses.his so.that when EXIST now.DET metuunen keliagen, 12ndi' melegenan dun finds.he likes.he not have.difficulty ANAPH sug luatanen. DET bride.price.his	pay for his future expenses, so that when someone comes along that he falls in love with, he'll have no trouble coming up with the dowry.
6. 13Mektimud kuarta muka' babuy, 14adun husbands money and pigs so.that sa' menginsawa, 15muya' na gumamit dun when marries.he ready already use.he ANAPH ig launanen. DET all.of.it	6. He'll save as much money and as many pigs as he can, so that when he has the wedding, it'll all be ready for him to use.
7. 16Ndai' kulang, pia alandun, 17kaas not.EXIST lacking whatever what so subay sug launanen sengkapen, 18pu'-adun ndi' must DET all.of.it get.ready so.that not megalengaleng dun. have.difficulty ANAPH	7. He'll have everything he needs without exception, so he must get all of these things ready so that he'll have no difficulty.
8. 19Pu' misangkap na. for has.been.readied already	8. It'll all be ready ahead of time.
9. 20Subay pektalententan niu gupia sug must heed you(pl) well DET tinitulu' diniu nug megulang niu. instructed you(pl) DET parent your(pl).	9. All of you must heed well what your parents have taught you.
10. 21Sa' ndi' niu talentenan, 22daikenen if not you(pl) heed its.result yamu da muka' sug megulang niu. you(pl) just and DET parent your(pl)	10. If you don't, the consequences will be yours and your parents' as well.
11. 23Kaas ki gembata', ndi' sumungal dig so DET children not resist DET megulangen, 24pu' mititisen gupiai parent.his for experienced.he much.DET kekpetubu'en dig bata'en, 25sampay mbagel, raising.his DET child.his until matures	11. So children do not ignore their parents' instructions, because, after all, they go through being raised by their parents until they're grown up, until they're ready to marry.

26mateng pa di kesuayen. reaches yet DET separating.his	
12. 27Iin ig taman mekpetubu' dun nug it DET extent raises.he ANAPH DET megulangen 28sa' mesuay. parent.his when separates.he	12. When someone marries, that's the extent of his parents' looking out for him.
13. 29Pu' suunanta kig betad getaw for know.we(inc) DET way person mesuay, 30sug minita'ta ditug separates DET saw.we(inc) DET megulangta. parent.our(inc)	13. We know how it is when people marry because we've observed it with our own parents.
14. 31Kekpetubu'en dinita raising.his us(inc) megela'ta mbianay. will.entirely.we(inc) experience	14. We've all gone through this experience.
15. 32Kaas ndi' ita sumungal dig so not we(inc) resist DET megulangta, 33pu' kia mai parent.our(inc) for that only.DET mpenggulaula. happen	15. So we do not ignore what our parents teach us because we may well experience being ignored by our children.
16. 34Ki getaw, sa' megleketubu', 35mpait DET person when earns.living.he bitter memis, mbianan. sweet experiences.he	16. People have to take the good with the bad.
17. 36Naa, sug megulang, ma'antu dadema ki now DET parent like.that also DET kekpetubu'en ditug bata'en. raising.his DET child.his	17. Now then, that's the way it is with our parents in having raised us.
18. 37Kaas ndi' sungalen. so not resist	18. So, let's not ignore what they teach. (lit. So it is not to be ignored.)

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DO AS I SAY: A STUDY OF SELECTED FEATURES OF HORTATORY DISCOURSE IN EASTERN KADAZAN

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0. Introduction

A study was made of two hortatory texts in Eastern Kadazan[1] to determine what the important features of hortatory discourse are and how hortatory discourse differs from other discourse types in certain respects.

The two texts were by the same author, Mr. Matius Matulang, from Wonod on the Labuk River, Sabah, East Malaysia. The author had heard Matius preach on avoiding strong drink, so later asked him to tape his sermon, which he did, transcribing and typing it up himself. The other text is one in which he gives instructions to his younger sister, Justina, on how to behave herself if she is taken to a linguistic workshop such as the one to which he had been taken.

The texts are very different even though both are hortatory texts, and both are by the same speaker. The main reason for the difference seems to be the different audiences. Matius was still very young at the time he gave the texts, and his audience at the time that he preached against strong drink was a mixture of both men and woman, young and old, some of whom were old enough to be his parents. The result is that that text is much more mitigated than that to his younger sister. Mitigation refers to the softening of the commands. Instead of using mainly second person as he did to his sister, he uses mainly first person plural inclusive.

1. Backbone in hortatory discourse

'For any given simple discourse type there is one kind of discourse information that carries forward the main line of development; hortatory points are central to hortatory development; steps, to procedural development; and information which might be considered setting in a narrative can be central to descriptive discourse. This central line of development is the backbone' (Hale 1981).

It has been stated (Hopper 1979) that realis tends to be in the foreground (termed 'backbone' above) in narrative discourse, and irrealis tends to be in the background. This does not seem to hold true for Kadazan.

There are three basic forms of the verb: irrealis, incompletive, and completive. Irrealis forms occur where the time continuum is not significant. It shares this feature with the unactualized time aspect of Western Bukidnon Manobo (Elkins 1970). Incompletive forms occur where the action is in process, or will be in process. The main use of completive forms is to indicate an action that has been completed before the time frame of the discourse. They mark the background material such as temporal clauses, flashbacks, embellishments, negatives, and statives.

The backbones of narrative and hortatory discourses both involve irrealis and incompletive forms, but their functions in the two discourse types are pragmatically quite distinct. This is seen in the fact that in hortatory discourse, the most explicit second person commands are 'must' plus incompletive, while irrealis and incompletive rank lower; with reference to hortatory discourse the latter could be called 'peremptory'[2] and 'imperative' forms, respectively. The highest ranking negative command forms are also distinct from anything found in narrative discourse text. (See Section 4 for details.)

In the text 'Avoid Strong Drink' (ASD)[3] there are two sentence types which contain explicit commands that relate to the theme of the discourse, and are clearly on the backbone. In both sentence types there are verbs which are marked for irrealis, called peremptory above. The first sentence type is topic-comment where the comment of the sentence contains the command. (Commands are underlined.)

> (ASD 20) Oh, all my brothers, whoever of us (inclusive) likes to follow the Lord, and whoever of us has not yet thrown away our food from before [i.e. cassava for making beer] as I mentioned just now, then let us really avoid that, and (do) let us get rid of it at the present time, and let us turn to (towards) the word of God, and let us hold onto the commands of God.

The other sentence type is a reason sentence and the command is found in the reason clause.

(ASD 16) We are the dwelling place of the Holy Spirit of God, and it's because of that that it is important (necessary) for us Christians who follow the Lord Jesus that we avoid drinking [cassava] beer.

In addition to the sentences with verbs marked for irrealis, there are those with verbs marked for incompletive which seem also to be on the backbone, though the incompletive form is not as strong a command form as is the irrealis.

(ASD 2) Now the meaning of not drinking beer is to avoid it so that [we/one] will not do bad things, nor break the commands of God, because that beer becomes a source or cause of producing badness.

In addition to explicit commands there are other commands which are implicit. These occur in expository paragraphs, in conditional sentences and in quotations. Since they are not direct commands they are not considered to be on the backbone of the discourse, but occur on a minor theme line.

In the text 'Instructions to Justina' there is a greater variety of sentence types which contain command forms. Most of the commands are in independent clauses of sentences with temporal or conditional margins, though some are in independent clauses with no margins. There are a few commands in the comment of topic-comment sentences, and the rest of the commands occur in dependent clauses beginning with do 'that, because' or sabap nga 'because'. The latter occurs in the peak of the discourse. In the following examples all the underlined verbs are incompletive except for the one which is marked as irrealis.

(ITJ 21) So get up again, and work again helping the Miss.

(ITJ 49) And if you need (have use for) money to buy a few things, then you must ask the Miss [to give you] a few [dollars].

(ITJ 56) These are the things that you must follow.

(ITJ 19) Then if it is like you being a woman, if the work is not yet finished, don't stop, because sometimes when you eat and the dishes are being washed after eating, (Sub), accompany them to do the washing up. (Sub=subordinate clause marker)

(ITJ 47) So these are all my instructions (advice) [for you] when you go with the Miss next year, because you are not to accompany the Miss thinking about taking it easy; on the other hand, whatever work there is to do, (do) work at it (Irrealis), and think about it, think about the work, and whatever should be done, don't just think about playing with your friends; on the other hand, there is a time to go to [your] friends and go to visit, [and] there is a time to work.

2. Peak

Longacre had characterized the high point or peak of a narrative discourse as an episode marked by such features as rhetorical underlining, concentration of participants, heightened vividness, change of pace, and change of vantage point or orientation (Longacre 1977). Although hortatory discourse is very different from narrative, some of these features which mark narrative peak mark hortatory peak as well.

In both of the hortatory texts the peak is marked by rhetorical underlining where the same command verb is repeated with the use of different focus affixes, or two similar verbs are used such as 'avoid' and 'get rid of'. In one text there is a chiastic structure at the peak; here similar verb phrases begin and end the series of command forms. At the peak in the text 'Avoid Strong Drink' all the verbs are marked with the irrealis which is stronger than the incompletive and seems to give a heightened vividness to the passage. No modals are used other than the adverb 'very/really' (compare change of pace in narrative peak). As sometimes occurs at a narrative peak there is concentration of verbs which pile up one after the other. In one text there is even a change of vantage point, in that instead of addressing his audience with 'we inclusive' as he has throughout the discourse, he says 'whoever of us', seeming to single out one person in the audience to whom he is now addressing his remarks. The examples below are the peaks of the two discourses, the first one being the peak of 'Avoid Strong Drink', and the second being the peak of 'Instructions to Justina'. (For detailed analysis of the verbs involved here see Section 4.)

(ASD 20) Oh, all my brothers, whoever of us (inclusive) likes to follow the Lord, and whoever of us has not yet thrown away our food from before [i.e. cassava for making beer] as I mentioned just now, then let us really avoid that, and (do) let us get rid of it at the present time, and let us turn to (towards) the word of God, and let us hold onto the commands of God.

(ITJ 47) So these are all my instructions (advice) [for you] when you go with the Miss next year, because you are not to accompany the Miss thinking about taking it easy; on the other hand, whatever work there is to do, (do) work at it, and think about it, think about the work and whatever should be done; don't just think about playing with your friends; on the other hand, there is a time to go to [your] friends and go to visit, [and] there is a time to work.

3. Person orientation

There is a marked contrast in the person orientation in the two texts. As would be expected in the text 'Instructions to Justina', second person singular was frequently used. Early in the discourse, however, (paragraph 2) there is a shift to first person dual in the last part of that paragraph (ITJ 10). In using the first person dual form he is giving mitigated commands to his sister. Paragraphs 5 (ITJ 22) and 7 (ITJ 30,31) also shift back to first person dual. These paragraphs are talking about making friends and being homesick (i.e. the lack of friends). First person plural inclusive is used at the beginning of paragraph 3 (ITJ 14) and paragraph 6 (ITJ 22) to contrast the Kadazans with foreigners, and to introduce the subject of friends in a general way before becoming more specific with the use of first person dual. First person plural occurs once more at the end of the last paragraph on friendship (paragraph 7, ITJ 32) to close the topic. First person singular is used to introduce several of the paragraphs, and in the illustrations of the speaker's behaviour which is to be an example to his sister. Paragraph 3 contains several sentences in third person, and is a hidden command to learn the customs of foreigners when living with them.

In the text 'Avoid Strong Drink', the person orientation is mainly first person inclusive. This makes the commands more mitigated than if second person plural were used. The only occurrence of second person plural in the discourse is in the sentence 'Listen' which is an attention getter used to introduce the body of the discourse. There are several instances where third person examples are cited as examples of things the hearer should copy or avoid. The two texts contrast with expository texts where the orientation is essentially third person, unless there is an embedded hortatory discourse or paragraph, in which case first person singular, dual, or plural inclusive occurs.

4. Ranking of command forms

In working with the two texts it was noticed that there seem to be many ways of giving commands. Based on intuition it seemed that some forms are more direct, while others are more mitigated. In the text 'Avoid Strong Drink' all the commands were more mitigated than in the text 'Instructions to Justina' because the speaker wished to influence the behaviour of his audience without offending them. The reason for variation in the directness of the commands in that text may be that he is leading into the subject delicately, and building up to a peak where the most direct commands occur. In the text 'Instructions to Justina' some of the variation in the directness of the command forms seems to be less motivated. In other uses of direct commands in this text, the speaker uses increased mitigation with certain subject matter which is more personal, such as finding friends, praying, and worshipping God; while commands concerning work, health, and general behaviour are more direct.

A study was made of all occurrences of the command forms, and lists were made of both positive and negative commands. When these lists were checked with a language assistant it was found that there is recognized ranking of the command forms, but that the negative commands ranked somewhat differently from positive commands. Following a chart designed by Doty (this volume), but with some expansion, the command forms were divided into nine types of commands (see Figure 1). Within some of the boxes in the figure there are groups of commands which are ranked according to their degree of directness. Examples of seven of the nine command types are found in the two discourses and are included in the boxes. No examples have been found in these texts for Boxes 7 and 8.

	EXPLICIT	IMPLICIT	HIDDEN
SECOND PERSON	1 (You must get ready	4 (If you look for friends, you will not be lonely.)	7 (Presumed realization)
FIRST PERSON	2 (Let's really avoid that.)	5 (If we mix with people like that who are drunkards, then of course we will follow them.)	8 (I'm hungry.)
THIRD PERSON	3 (This is all because each person who follows the Lord Jesus avoids drinking beer.)	6 (Even though they have trouble like that, they do not repent.)	9 (And as for eating, those white people follow certain times to eat, sometimes 12 o'clock noon.)

Figure 1. Command types

Box 7 contains a hidden second person command called 'presumed realization'. Presumed realization is 'a subtle type of command, in which the speaker makes a statement that presumes that the implied hidden command has already been consented to. An example is: "I sure hope you didn't get me anything expensive for my birthday." Such a statement implies that the listener already got something. It would be a hardhearted listener who would not go right out and buy something, perhaps even something expensive.' (Doty, this volume).

The author has not found examples of this type of command in Kadazan, but assumes that something on this order will eventually be found.

The example in Box 8 is an example that does not occur in the selected texts, but which has been overheard in live conversation. Stating the grounds for the request is a hidden way of asking for food.

4.1 Second person explicit commands

Explicit commands in Kadazan are marked in several different ways:
1) with modals such as 'must', 'always', 'very/nearly';
2) with irrealis affixes;
3) with incompletive affixes, and
4) with three kinds of negatives.
Figure 2 is restricted to the ranking of the explicit second person commands which occur in the text 'Instructions to Justina'. Other variations are possible, as can be seen from the other figures. All verbs are incompletive unless irrealis is indicated.

Positive
    1) Must + Verb + Pronoun
    2) Must + Verb
    3) Verb (Irrealis Affix)
    4) Do + Verb (Irrealis Affix)
    5) Verb + Pronoun
    6) Verb

Negative
    1) Don't (ada) + Verb
    2) Don't (ada) + Pronoun + Verb
    3) Cannot (au buli) + Verb
    4) Not (okonko) + Verb
    5) Not (okonko) + always + Verb
    6) Not (au) + Verb

Fig[illegible] 2. Ranking of verbal phrases in second person explicit commands

The following examples are taken from the text 'Instructions to Justina'. The command forms are underlined, and the number of the command type it illustrates follows in parentheses. (P means positive command; N means negative command.)

(ITJ 54) So that is why you must tell (P1) the Miss or whoever your friend is that you ask to accompany you to go bathing.

(ITJ 9) So when you arrive there, whatever work the Miss gives you to do, go [ahead] and work (P4) [at it], [you] cannot refuse (N3), [you] cannot argue (N3), whatever [you] are shown [you] must follow (P2).

(ITJ 47) So these are all my instructions (advice) [for you] when you go with the Miss next year, because you are not to accompany the Miss thinking (N4) about taking it easy; on the other hand whatever work there is to do, (do) work (P3) at it, and think about (P6) it, think about (P6) the work and whatever should be done; don't just think about (N4) playing with your friends; on the other hand there is time to go to [your] friends and go to visit, [and] there is a time to work.

(ITJ 52) But don't (you) go (N2) alone; on the other hand, if you have no friend [to go with], (you) go with (P5) the Miss when you go to bathe, because if you go alone, and if you should drown, who would know about it because no one would have seen you.

(ITJ 19) Then if it is like you being a woman, if the work is not yet finished don't stop (N1), because sometimes when you eat and the dishes are being washed after eating, accompany (P6) them to do the washing up.

(ITJ 29) Then if you are going with friends far away to a village, you must ask (P1) the Miss first, and then you can go with them, and you must look carefully (P2) at the person you are going with (accompany) to see whether [she] is good to you, or how [she behaves], because if you go with a bad person, you probably will do wrong when accompanying him/her; and don't always laugh (N5) with the boys, it isn't that you must not laugh (N6), but that means 'flirting', as they say in Malay.

The most direct positive command (P1) is found to occur in places that carry a lot of weight in the discourse, namely the first sentence in the setting of the discourse where it states the theme for that paragraph, at the beginning of several other paragraphs where it likewise states the theme for those paragraphs, and again in the closure and finis of the discourse. All of the other command forms occur scattered throughout the discourse.[4]

The verbs with irrealis affixes are found only in the first sentence of the introductory paragraph (which follows the setting paragraph), and in the peak of the discourse where a cluster of three different command forms occurs (ITJ 47).

It was observed in this text that under positive commands, all the verbs in ranks one to four occur only in independent clauses, while those in ranks five and six occur in either independent or dependent clauses. Under negative commands, ranks one to three occur only in independent clauses, while the others occur only in dependent clauses, which adds some weight to the ranking system. Rank six occurs only in a paraphrase of a command.

Notice in Figure 2 that the pronoun increases the force of the command in positive commands, but mitigates it in negative commands (ITJ 54 and ITJ 52).

4.2 First person explicit commands

In the texts studied it was found that first person commands are given with first person singular, dual and plural inclusive. Since there are fewer examples of first person commands, a smaller range of negative commands occurs with first person than with second person. One would assume that there is a similarity between the two as there is with positive commands. For instance, the language assistant says that examples using ada 'don't' with first person are quite acceptable.

Positive

1) Verb (Irrealis Affix) + Pronoun + very/really
2) Must + Verb + Pronoun
3) Verb (Irrealis Affix)
4) Do + Pronoun + Verb (Irrealis Affix)
5) Always + Verb
6) Verb

Negative

1) Not possible (au milo) + Verb
2) Not (okonko) + Verb
3) Not (au) + Verb

Figure 3. Ranking of verbal phrases in first person explicit commands

The following examples are taken from both texts. The numbers in brackets refer to Figure 3. (P means positive command, and N means negative command.)

(ASD 20) Oh, all my brothers, whoever of us (inclusive) likes to follow the Lord, and whoever of us has not yet thrown away our food from before [i.e. cassava for making beer] as I mentioned just now, then let us really avoid (P1) that, and (do) let us get rid of (P4) it at the present time, and let us turn to (towards) (P3) the word of God, and let us hold onto (P3) the commands of God.

(ITJ 34) So I must tell (P2) the Miss.

(ITJ 23) And it is important (necessary) for us Christians to pray (P6) every day, and when we pray (P6) we give the troubles of our hearts to the Lord to ask for His help (P6) and ask for peace (P6) or to ask for help (P6) for whatever we ought to do each day, and always go to worship (pray) (P5).

> (ITJ 22) And it is important (necessary) for us Christians [when] we are far from our parents (the one who gave birth) - it is not possible (N1) to think only about our mother, father or siblings or keep thinking about returning home to the village, because when we just keep thinking about that, then our work does not progress much, and our knowledge decreases because it is choked out [crowded out] by our thoughts because we keep thinking about returning to the village.

> (ITJ 44) [You] [must] not be quiet (N2), and not tell (N3) others.

As with second person explicit commands, the most direct commands occur in the peak of the discourse as in ASD 20. There are three different command forms at the peak of the text 'Avoid Strong Drink', just as there are in the text 'Instructions to Justina'.

The verbs with irrealis affixes are found only in one of the embedded paragraphs and at the peak.

In the two texts the positive command verbs in ranks one and two occur only in independent clauses while the others occur in dependent clauses. This means that some of the verbs with irrealis affixes occur in dependent clauses though it is probable that with a larger corpus of texts examples would be found with all ranks of verbs containing irrealis affixes occurring in independent clauses as they do in second person explicit commands. The negative command verbs in ranks one and two also occur only in independent clauses while rank three occurs only in dependent clauses. Once again a larger corpus of texts would probably yield examples of rank two verb phrases occurring in dependent clauses as they do with second person explicit commands.

4.3 Third person explicit commands

As one would expect, third person explicit commands are not as common as first and second person commands. There is considerable restriction on the verb forms that can occur. Irrealis affixes cannot occur with third person, nor do the modals occur in any of the examples (although it is possible for modals to occur with the third person).

Positive
    Verb

Negative
    1) Not (au) + Verb
    2) Don't (mada) + Verb

Figure 4. Ranking of verbal phrases in third person explicit commands

All of these examples have been taken from the text 'Avoid Strong Drink'. No examples occur in the text 'Instructions to Justina'.

(ASD 17) This is all because each person who follows the Lord Jesus avoids (P) drinking [cassava] beer, so that we will not break [God's commands], and we will not follow the badness of our hearts.

(ASD 25) It wasn't just a little bit that the words of God forbade them [telling them] not to eat (N1) the fruit, but because they did not trust what God commanded, when they were persuaded by the demon who impersonated a snake, then they ate [some].

(ASD 26) Truly, my brothers, for everything that is forbidden by God, [saying], 'Don't eat (N2) [it],' there is a demon keeping a watch to persuade the hearts of the people.

Since there is only one example of a positive third person explicit command, one cannot make any generalizations about possible ranking of verbs. No doubt other forms are possible. All of the other examples are negative. They seem to mean that someone else did such and such an action but you should profit by their example and not make the same mistake.

All of the examples of explicit commands in third person occur in dependent clauses. Since the phrase 'not + Verb' always occurs at the bottom of the ranking with the first and second person, it seems that there is a reversal of the ranking here. This seems true especially as the 'don't + Verb' has been demoted, whereas in Figure 2 it ranked first. Notice, however, that the 'don't' here has an m- prefix which may overtly mark it as being demoted.

4.4 Implicit commands

Implicit commands are those that tell what a person should do, but they do not tell the person that he must do it. Third person implicit commands seem to occur mainly in the negative, and tell what the person did not do that he should have done. These commands are encoded as conditional sentences. In the second person example the implicit command occurs in the protasis, 'if you do such and such', meaning 'you ought to do such and such'. In the first person example the implicit command likewise occurs in the protasis, and the implication is that one should not do what is being supposed. In the third person negative example the implicit command occurs in the apodosis, where the implication is 'they did not do such and such, but you ought to do what they failed to do'.

There are no special markings on the verb in such implicit commands. The verb may take any appropriate incompletive affix including nonintentive mode. In such commands modals do not occur in the verb phrase in the present texts, but according to the language assistant, certain modals can occur in implicit commands.

The following examples of implicit commands are taken from both texts. The commands are underlined.

(ITJ 12) But if you look for friends, then you will not be very lonely because you will have a friend.

(ASD 19) And furthermore there is also something written in the Bible, I don't know which verse, but it says, 'Don't you (plural) mix with drunkards', because if we (inclusive) mix with people like that who are drunkards, then of course we (inclusive) will follow them, our hearts will be drawn [away] to follow the ways of [those] people.

(ASD 32) But even though they have trouble like that, they do not repent because they do not recognize the power of the demon; after all they do not see that demon [waiting] beside them while they are drinking.

4.5 Hidden commands

Hidden commands merely hint at what should be done. Strangely enough, even though these commands are hidden, there is still a system of ranking with the verb phrases that occur with third person hidden commands.

Positive
1) Must + Verb
2) Verb + Noun Phrase

Negative
1) Not possible (au milo) + Verb
2) Not (okonko) + Verb
3) Not (au) + Verb

Figure 5. Ranking of verbal phrases in third person hidden commands

The following paragraph, taken from the text 'Instructions to Justina', contains examples of all of the verb phrases which contain hidden commands.

(ITJ 13) And I have (there are) some instructions for you, (and) I need to tell you about accompanying white people.

(ITJ 14) That is, it's not like our customs, or what we are accustomed to, because, for the white people, the beds must be tidy (P1), they must be kept in good order (P1), they cannot be dirty (N1), and the clothing also must be [kept] washed (P1), not curled up (N2) [because they are] not washed (N3).

(ITJ 15) And as for eating, [it seems] that those white people follow (P2) certain times to eat, sometimes 12 o'clock noon.

(ITJ 16) As for the early morning, it is 7:00 a.m. or 6:30 a.m. and in the afternoon it is 6:00 when they begin to eat (P2).

These commands here seem to be that Justina must learn to copy the customs of the white people if she lives with them. The positive command verbs in rank one occur in independent clauses, while the negative commands in ranks one and two occur in independent clauses. The others occur in dependent clauses. The negative 'au + Verb' occurs only in a paraphrase.

There is a further example of a hidden third person command that is parallel to the first person hidden command 'I'm hungry', which is 'your little brother is hungry'. A few years ago (until stopped by government intervention) it was the custom of a certain tribal group not to work, but to depend on begging or stealing to supply their wants. A family would go to a Kadazan village, and the mother would take one of her children, and go to a Kadazan house saying, 'Your little brother is hungry.' The householder was expected to hand over a supply of rice, and other food for the family. If no food was forthcoming, the father of the family would come up from the boat carrying a big bush-knife, and was given whatever he demanded. Even though the command was hidden, it was understood situationally as being a very strong command indeed!

5. Paragraph structure

5.1 Introduction

Each of the main paragraphs has a well-defined introduction. The introduction may be a sentence or the margin of a sentence. In the text 'Avoid Strong Drink' the first paragraph is introduced by 'I want to talk about drinking beer'. The other main paragraphs are introduced by 'Listen!', 'Of course we know', 'Let's take the example of', 'Oh, all my brothers', and 'My brothers'. These mark the transitions from one hortatory point, or explanatory paragraph to another. Some of the embedded paragraphs are also marked with introductions such as 'Let's listen', 'Truly my brothers', and 'We know', which highlight the paragraph being introduced. Other internal structures such as paraphrase, and modals reinforce this highlighting.

In the text 'Instructions to Justina', all of the paragraphs are introduced by long sentences, some of which have a margin. Paragraphs 1, 3, 9 and 12 occur at some crucial juncture. Each of these paragraphs is introduced by a sentence such as 'I am instructing you ...' Paragraph 1 is the setting of the discourse, paragraph 3 is the first hortatory point, paragraph 9 is the peak of the discourse, and paragraph 12 is the closure. Paragraphs 2 and 7 are introduced by the margin, 'Having arrived'. In paragraph 2 the margin functions as a transition between the setting and the introduction of the discourse. In paragraph 7 the margin functions as a transition between the exhortation in the previous paragraph to 'go to church', and the exhortation in paragraph 7 to look for friends there. Paragraphs 5 and 6 are introduced by 'It is necessary for us Christians'. Both of these paragraphs are simple paragraphs which are perhaps being highlighted by the introduction as being important points even though they are short. Paragraph 4 is marked with 'One more thing'. Since it is the second hortatory point this seems to be a cohesive device referring back to the first point in the discourse, but at the same time pointing on to the new point. The remaining paragraphs 8, 10, and 11 begin with conditional margins, 'If you are sick', 'If you need money', and 'If you go to bathe', respectively. These are still hortatory points, but seem to be less important than the others as one occurs just before the peak which is a summation of the preceding points, and the last two seem to be a postscript of points that the speaker forgot to mention before coming to the peak.

5.2 Closure

Paragraph closure seems to be an optional feature in hortatory paragraphs. In the text 'Avoid Strong Drink', the closing sentence in paragraph 2 begins with 'This is all because'; in paragraph 3 the closing sentence begins with 'Furthermore'; and in paragraph 5 it begins with 'But we know now'. All of these sentences are reason sentences. None of the other paragraphs has closure marked in any way.

In the text 'Instructions to Justina', there are no closures to the paragraphs with two possible exceptions: paragraph 1 which ends with 'so that is where you stop', closing the setting paragraph which decribes the preparations and travel to reach the place where she is to work; and the last paragraph, which has 'This is all that you must follow', which is also the conclusion to the discourse.

5.3 Paragraph types

Neither of the texts studied is purely hortatory in content. The text 'Instructions to Justina' contains one long embedded procedural paragraph, two embedded narratives, and several embedded expository paragraphs. The text 'Avoid Strong Drink' contains an embedded expository discourse, as well as other embedded expository paragraphs. Each of the discourses contains much deep embedding. A count of the sentences shows that in the text 'Instructions to Justina' only 22 of the 56 sentences had hortatory verb phrases, while in the text 'Avoid Strong Drink' only nine out of 35 sentences have hortatory verb phrases.

There are three paragraph types that seem to function as highlighting of certain points in the texts.

The antithetical paragraph consists of a thesis and an antithesis. In highlighting a point with an antithetical paragraph, both the positive and negative sides are given. This paragraph type is the most widely occurring and flexible of all the paragraph types. The antithetical paragraph occurs in both texts, and is always embedded in other paragraphs. Other paragraphs can be embedded in either the thesis of the antithetical paragraph, or in the antithesis or both. In the text 'Instructions to Justina' antithetical paragraphs are embedded in a procedural paragraph (the only one embedded there), in a narrative paragraph, in expository paragraphs, and in hortatory paragraphs. In hortatory and expository paragraphs, there are a variety of types of antithetical paragraphs. Both the thesis and antithesis can be expository, or hortatory, or the thesis can be expository and the antithesis hortatory or vice versa. The first example below is a cyclical antithetical paragraph, that is, the thesis is repeated.

(ITJ 10-12) Thesis: (And) [you] must be clever at looking for friends; we (dual) must make friends with other people, and only then will we (dual) not be lonely.

Antithesis: But (then) if [you] are quiet, and [act] as if [you] don't want to make friends with other people, then of course [you] will be lonely.

Thesis: But if you look for friends, then you will not be very lonely, because you will have a friend.

(ITJ 51-52) Thesis: And if you go to bathe in the pool, then there is a place for bathing there, and lots of people go there to bathe.

Antithesis: But don't (you) go alone; on the other hand, if you have no friend [to go with], (you) go with the Miss when you go to bathe, because if you go by alone, and if you should drown, who would know about it because no one would have seen you.

(ITJ 17-18) Thesis: One more thing (once again), if there is something that the Miss asks you to teach her, such as our language (words), and you don't know it, then you must think first, and if you [still] don't know it, nothing can be done about it.

Antithesis: But if you know it, you must tell the Miss; make her understand it, because that is your (plural) work to explain (tell) the language (words) and whatever other work there is.

A second paragraph type is the paraphrase paragraph. The paraphrase paragraph highlights a point being made by repeating the thought in the text of the paragraph in different words, or by summarizing the text of the paragraph. This highlighting function is borne out by the fact that the peak of the discourse 'Instructions to Justina' is a paraphrase paragraph. There are two types of paraphrase paragraphs, those with a text and a paraphrase, and those with a text and a summary. Both of the discourses contain paraphrase paragraphs, some of which are hortatory, others are expository, while others are mixed hortatory and expository.

(ITJ 47-48) Text: So these are my instructions (advice) for you when you go with the Miss next year, because you are not to accompany the Miss thinking about taking it easy; on the other hand whatever work there is to do, (do) work at it, and think about it, think about the work and whatever should be done; don't just think about playing with your friends; on the other hand, there is a time to go to [your] friends and go to visit, [and] there is a time to work.

Summary: There is one time for working, and one for going to visit friends.

(ASD 30-31) Text: When there is drinking, and there are those who are destructive, there are people who say, 'Yes, he is possessed.'

Paraphrase: And there are those who say, 'Yes! I heard the tik-tik bird (omen bird) just now', and 'He will suffer the consequences of a broken taboo'. '[Let's] treat him with cassava', and '[Let's] repeat incantations', they say.

A third paragraph type is the amplification paragraph. The amplification paragraph highlights a point by giving more information about the text of the paragraph. It consists of a text and one or more amplifications. Amplification paragraphs are always embedded in other paragraphs, and often take embedded dialogue paragraphs in them. Only the text 'Avoid Strong Drink' contains examples of amplification paragraphs.

(ASD 15-16) Text: We know that we are the ones meant by 'the house of God'.

Amplification: We are the dwelling place of the Holy Spirit of God, and it's because of that that it is important (necessary) for us Christians who follow the Lord Jesus to avoid drinking [cassava] beer.

The remaining paragraph types each have a different function.

The fourth paragraph type is the simple paragraph. From examination of other texts as well as the hortatory texts it seems that the chief function of simple paragraphs is as closure or finis of a discourse. In 'Instructions to Justina', one of the simple paragraphs functioned as a positive hortatory point, and another as a negative hortatory point. In 'Avoid Strong Drink' one simple paragraph functioned as the introduction to the discourse, one as the peak, and a third as closure of an embedded discourse. Both texts had simple paragraphs as closure of the main discourse. By definition, simple paragraphs do not contain embedded paragraphs, and in all the texts examined no simple paragraphs were embedded in other paragraphs. A simple paragraph may consist of a setting and text or a text only.

(ASD 35) Text: My brothers, it is the same way with cassava that is made into beer, that is made into a drink, because He does not want to separate from us, He does not want there to be anyone amongst us who will be included in the judgment with the demons.

(ASD 1-2) Setting: I would like to speak about drinking [cassava] beer because there are many people who say, 'Hmph, why is it that they don't drink beer, because we all have the same religion, it's the same Jesus that we call on, that we worship, and why is it that they are different, that they don't drink beer', the people say.

Text: Now the meaning of not drinking beer is to avoid it so that [we/one] will not do bad things, nor break the commands of God, because that beer becomes a source or cause of producing badness.

A fifth paragraph type is the coordinate paragraph. In the text 'Instructions to Justina' all of the coordinate paragraphs function as hortatory paragraphs. The first one is an introduction to the hortatory points, and the other two are hortatory points one and two. In the text 'Avoid Strong Drink' all of the coordinate paragraphs function as expository paragraphs giving the expository points as to why strong drink is bad. In other texts coordinate paragraphs typically function as setting to the discourse. A coordinate paragraph consists of an optional introduction with two or more items. Both texts contain several coordinate paragraphs, most of which have other paragraphs embedded in them. In the two texts no coordinate paragraphs are embedded in other paragraphs, but an examination of other texts showed that coordinate paragraphs can be embedded in either coordinate paragraphs or illustration paragraphs.

(ASD 18-19) Item 1: Of course we know that it is not from drinking beer that there is badness in our hearts, or that badness comes out of us, but that is because that also is a source or cause of destroying our hearts, and destroying our ways in the name of Christ.

Item 2: And furthermore there is also something written in the Bible, I don't know which verse, but it says, 'Don't you (plural) mix with drunkards', because if we mix with people like that who are drunkards, then of course we (inclusive) will follow them, our hearts will be drawn [away] to follow the ways of [those] people.

A sixth paragraph type is the illustration paragraph. In both discourses illustration paragraphs are expository paragraphs which function as setting or introduction for another paragraph. An examination of other texts shows that illustration paragraphs can also function as expository points. An illustration paragraph consists of a text and an illustration. It always contains embedded paragraphs.

(ASD 21-23a) Text: Let's take the example of Adam and Eve, our ancestors.

Illustration: God said, 'You can eat as much as you like of every kind of fruit in Paradise. But don't eat the fruit of the tree that is called, 'the fruit by which one can know good and bad'.

A seventh paragraph type is the reason paragraph. Reason paragraphs seem to have the function of summing up a section before a conclusion. In the text 'Instructions to Justina', reason paragraphs function as the sixth hortatory point, just before the peak, and the second post-peak point just before the closure. An embedded reason paragraph occurs at the end of the fifth hortatory point. In the text 'Avoid Strong Drink', the only reason paragraph occurs near the end of the embedded discourse, which is at the end of the main discourse.

A reason paragraph consists of a text and reason.

(ITJ 53-54) Text: There are perhaps others who would see you, but they would not explain to the Miss.

Reason: So that is why you must tell the Miss or whoever your friend is that you ask to accompany you to go bathing.

An eighth paragraph type is the result paragraph. Result paragraphs seem to function as either an encouragement or a warning. For example, in the text 'Instructions to Justina' a result paragraph functions as a fifth hortatory point. The first half of the paragraph contains an embedded narrative paragraph which is the text, and the second half of the paragraph is the result which will follow if the hearer behaves in the same way as the person in the illustration. A result paragraph consists of a text which is followed by one or more results. Both texts contain result paragraphs which are expository paragraphs, but may contain some embedded hortatory material. Result paragraphs are frequently embedded in other paragraphs. The following example seems to be one encouraging the hearer to copy the action of the speaker.

(ITJ 40-43) Text: When I had the fever, I had a dizzy head.

Result 1: Then I told the Miss.

Result 2: Then they gave me some medicine, which I took and was all right. My head and fever were healed, then I did not have any pain or chills.

The following example seems to be a warning, in that the speaker gives the result of what happens when the person does not recognize the dangers he has been warned against.

(ASD 32-33) Text: But even though they have trouble like that, they do not repent because they do not recognize the power of the demon; after all they do not see that demon [waiting] beside them while they are drinking.

Result: When the demon sees those people fighting, or being destructive or saying incantations, oh my, how he laughs, because he really likes to see it like that, and he is honoured.

A ninth paragraph type is the temporal paragraph. Two sequential temporal paragraph types, procedural and narrative, occur in the text 'Instructions to Justina'. The procedural paragraph functions as the setting to the discourse. It consists of an introduction and steps. Only the first few sentences will be given in the example.

(ITJ 1-3) Introduction: And I have some instructions for you, Justina, if you go to the Philippines with the Miss, you must get ready, and ask for a photo to be taken for your passport.

Step 1: And when you have got it, then you go (also) to the immigration [department] and (you) ask to get the forms, and you ask the Miss to help you fill them in, and you pay perhaps thirty dollars, I think it is, including the forms (letter) and your photo.

Step 2: Then you return to our place, and (you) wait three months, because [if it's] like (me) [when I got my passport], I waited three months before it arrived.

There are two narrative paragraphs both of which function as illustrations of desired behaviour which the speaker claims to have. Both of these are marked by the expression, 'Take a look at me'. A narrative paragraph consists of a setting and build-ups. Only a few sentences will be given in the example.

(ITJ 25-27) Setting: Take a look at me, when I first arrived (there) in Nasuli, I did not have any friends other than the Miss whom I accompanied, and the people in the house where we stayed who were always playing or telling good stories.

Build-up 1: But after a while I always went to worship (pray) in the church, and it was there that I met them, and it was there that I chatted with them, and after a while we became friends.

Build-up 2: So I had not yet gone to the church in a certain village.

A tenth paragraph type is the identification paragraph. There is only one occurrence in the text 'Avoid Strong Drink', which functions to introduce the people about whom the Scripture quotation is talking. It consists of a text and an identification.

(ASD 14-15) Text: The words of that verse are like this: whoever destroys the house of God, that one will be destroyed by God.

Identification: We know that we are the ones meant by 'the house of God'.

An eleventh paragraph type is the rhetorical question-answer paragraph. It functions to clarify some point in an expository part of the discourse. Two types of rhetorical question-answer (RQA) paragraphs occur in the text 'Avoid Strong Drink': a simple RQA paragraph which consists of a rhetorical question and a rhetorical answer, and a complex RQA paragraph which consists of a rhetorical question and two or more rhetorical answers. These RQA paragraphs perhaps should be called soliloquies, since they are a rhetorical device with a rhetorical question which the speaker answers. RQA paragraphs are found embedded in amplification paragraphs.

(ASD 7-8) Rhetorical question: What is that badness?

Rhetorical answer: That is looking for a cause to fight, liking to do bad things, and breaking the commands of God.

(ASD 28-32) Rhetorical question: What is the reason that there are people who are possessed?

Rhetorical answer 1: When they drink cassava that is made into beer, then there is the power of the demon.

Rhetorical answer 2: Antithetical paragraph.

Thesis: Whenever there is drinking and there are those that are destructive, there are people who say, 'Yes, he is possessed.' And there are those who say, 'Yes, I heard the tik-tik bird (omen bird) just now', and 'He will suffer the consequences of a broken taboo'. '[Let's] treat him with cassava', and '[Let's] repeat incantations,' they say.

Antithesis: But even though they have trouble like that, they do not repent because they do not recognize the power of the demon; after all they do not see that demon [waiting] beside them while they are drinking.

NOTES

[1] Eastern Kadazan is a Dusunic language spoken by about 6,000 to 7,000 speakers along the Labuk River, and on some of the tributaries of the Upper Kinabatangan River in Sabah, a state in Malaysia (formerly known as British North Borneo). It is closely related to some of the Philippine languages.

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[2] There are three types of verbal affixes used for command forms:
1) Irrealis, marked in subject focus with the allomorph ∅, in object focus with the allomorph -∅, and in referent focus with the allomorph -ai, meaning 'do it at once', hence called 'peremptory',
2) Incompletive, marked with moN-, mog-, -um-/m- in subject focus, -on in object focus, -an in referent focus and i- in accessory focus, meaning 'do it as soon as you can, no hurry', hence called 'imperative',
3) Injunctive, marked with the causative po- and deletion of the suffix in object focus, meaning 'go and tell someone else to do such and such' (no examples occur in this paper).

[3] Quotations from the two texts are identified with three letters, ITJ (Instructions to Justina), or ASD (Avoid Strong Drink), plus the sentence number. For example, ASD 20 means sentence 20 of the text Avoid Strong Drink.

[4] In ITJ 29 there is a very complicated clause with one positive and two negative commands:

misti do okoniko do au mongirak
must that not that not laugh
'It isn't that you must not laugh.'

Since it contains both positive and negative commands it was not possible to rank it with the other commands except for the final 'not'.

APPENDIX

The following are the abbreviations used in the interlinear gloss of the texts:

TM	topic marker
NTM	non-topic marker
SUB	subordinate clause marker
DM	narrative discourse marker
LK	link

APATUT IADA ITI TIIUPON DO KAAVUK
should reject this drink that drunk

AVOID STRONG DRINK

By Matius Matulang

Paragraph 1:

1. Uvang oku potuturan pasal mongiup do mundok
like I speak about drink NTM beer

sabap.nga kogumuan tulun do mitangar, A,
because many people SUB speak hmph

nokokuro ma iolo do au koiup do mundok
why (doubt) they SUB not drink NTM beer

sabap.nga miisoi daton, isoi Yisus do mangan
because all.one we one Jesus SUB do

roroito mangan tokou sambawo om nokokuropo
call.on do we worship and why

ino iolo nokosuvaipo dino do au koiup do
that they different that SUB not drink NTM

1. I would like to speak about drinking [cassava] beer, because there are many people who say, 'Hmph, why is it that they don't drink beer, because we all have the same religion, it's the same Jesus that we call on, that we worship, and why is it that they are different, that they don't drink beer,' the people say.

mundok, kado tulun.
beer say people

2. Nga komoion nopo do au koiup do mundok
then meaning TM SUB not drink NTM beer

nga irin mongilag supaya do au kavaal
then that avoid so.that SUB no do

do taraat, om au kalanggar di ukum do
something bad and not break the laws of

Kinoroingan, sabap.nga ilo mundok nogi nga
God because that beer also then

osiliu do iso puun atau koontodo do
becomes NTM one source or cause SUB

koimbulajan di taraat.
come.out NTM badness

2. Now the meaning of not drinking beer is to avoid it so that [we/one] will not do bad things, nor break the commands of God, because that beer becomes a source or cause of producing badness.

Paragraph 2:

3. Rongoono!
listen

3. Listen!

4. Koiso: Au kopuriman tokou di tatangaron
first not feel we NTM speaking

ontok di poingavuk, manaku do aandai ko
time SUB being.drunk whether that good or

araat om au kopuriman tokou diri taandai di
bad and not feel we that good done

avaal do koruang.
SUB by friend

4. First: We (inclusive) do not feel what we are speaking when we are drunk, whether it is good or bad, and we (inclusive) do not feel the good that is done by a friend.

5. Koduvo: Au kopuriman tokou di momoluan do
second not feel we NTM shame of

tinan tokou.
body our

5. Second: We (inclusive) do not feel shame for our bodies.

6. Kotolu: Koimbulajan di daton ginavo
third comes.out.of NTM our heart

taraat.
bad

6. Third: Our (inclusive) hearts produce badness.

7. Onu iri taraat?
what that bad

7. What is that badness?

8. Irino mogium koontodo
that.is look.for cause

kumipatai, uvang mamaal taraat, iri
to.fight.each.other like do bad that

kalanggar di ukum do Kinoroingan.
break NTM laws of God

8. That is looking for a cause to fight, liking to do bad things, and breaking the commands of God.

9. Kaapat: Irino au kosorou do
fourth that.is not think.of NTM

Kinoroingan.
God

9. Fourth: That is that we do not think of God.

10. Kolimo: Irino au kosorou di korikatan
fifth that.is not remember NTM coming

di Tuan Yisus.
of Lord Jesus

10. Fifth: That is that we do not remember the return of the Lord Jesus.

11. Koonom: Au kosorou di kaandaian.
sixth not remember NTM goodness

11. Sixth: We do not remember good things.

12. Koturu: Monginsaaim di valai do
seventh make.dirty NTM house of

Kinoroingan.
God

12. Seventh: We defile the house of God.

13. Iri irad di nokotulis siri satu
that like SUB written there 1st

Korintus pasal 3 ayat 17.
Corinthians chapter 3 verse 17

13. That is like what is written in 1 Corinthians 3.17.

14. Tangar nopo ayat diri nga poingkaa,
words TM verse that then thus

isai-isai nopo tulun mongorumbak di valai di
whoever TM people destroys NTM house of

Kinoroingan, nga irino rumbakon do
God then that.is destroy by

Kinoroingan.
God

14. The words of that verse are like this: whoever destroys the house of God, that one will be destroyed by God.

15. Ilaai tokouno do itokouno komoion valai do
know we SUB we meaning house of

Kinoroingan.
God

15. We know that we are the ones meant by 'the house of God'.

16. Itokouno ijanan di Tatod Tolidang do
we indwelt by Spirit Holy of

Kinoroingan sabap diri do oporlu tokou tulun
God because that LK need we people

Koristian i pointanud di Tuan Yisus do
Christian who follow NTM Lord Jesus SUB

mangan tokou ilagai pasal dilo mongiup do
do we avoid about that drinking NTM

mundok.
beer

16. We are the dwelling place of the Holy Spirit of God, and it's because of that that it is important (necessary) for us Christians who follow the Lord Jesus that we avoid drinking [cassava] beer.

17. Itino ngavi sabap.do tikid-tikid do
this.is all because every LK

tulun do tumanud do Tuan Yisus do mongilag
person SUB follow NTM Lord Jesus SUB avoid

pasal dilo mongiup do mundok supaya do au
about that drink NTM beer so.that SUB not

kalanggar om au avajaan tokou i karaaton
break and not follow we TM wickedness

do ginavo tokou.
of heart our

17. This is all because each person who follows the Lord avoids drinking [cassava] beer so that we will not break [God's commands] and we will not follow the badness of our hearts.

Paragraph 3:

18. Himang oilaan tokou do okoniko koiupi
of.course know we SUB not drink

do mundok om kivaro araat i suvang ginavo
NTM beer and have bad TM inside hearts

tokou ko varo lumabus si daton do araat,
our or have go.out there us NTM bad

nga irino sabap.nga ilo nogi nga iso puun
then that.is because that also then one root

18. Of course we know that it is not from drinking beer that there is badness in our hearts, or that badness comes out of us, but that is because that also is a source or cause of destroying our hearts, and destroying our

ko koontodo do mangaraag do ginavo tokou, om
or source SUB destroy NTM hearts our and

mangaraag do kovovojoon tokou si suvang
destroy NTM ways our there inside

ngaran do Koristus.
name of Christ

ways in the name of Christ.

19. Om kavagupo varo nogi nokotulis
and again.yet there.is also written

saralom Kitab, auku oilaan nong onu ayat
in Bible not.I know if what verse

dii nga boros ka'm ada kouno gavul di
that then speak say don't you mix.with NTM

tulun di mampangavuk ka, sabap.nga nong
people SUB drinkers says because if

kagavul tokou di tulun do mibagal diri do
mix.with we NTM people SUB like that SUB

i mampangavuk nga mimang kaavaja tokou
TM drinkers then of.course follow we

olungkadi i ginavo tokou do kavaja
be.drawn NTM heart our in.order.to follow

di kovovojoon di tulun.
NTM ways of people

19. And furthermore there is also something written in the Bible, I don't know which verse but it says, 'Don't you (plural) mix with drunkards,' because if we mix with people like that who are drunkards, then of course we (inclusive) will follow them, our hearts will be drawn [away] to follow the ways of [those] people.

Paragraph 4:

20. O! kosuladanku kasangkat, isai-isai nopo
oh relatives.my all whoever TM

daton do uvang tumanud do Tuan om ilagai
us SUB like follow NTM Lord and avoid

tokono kopijo ilo om isai-isaipo daton di
we very that and whoever us SUB

aupo nakataam i taakanon tokou mantad
not.yet throw.away TM food our previous

mibagal di naraitku om mangai tokouno
like SUB called.I and do we

20. Oh, all my brothers, whoever of us (inclusive) likes to follow the Lord, and whoever of us has not yet thrown away our food from before [i.e. cassava for making beer] as I mentioned just now, then let us really avoid that, and let us get rid of it at the present time, and let us (inclusive) turn to

kaadaai do aaso maino om toguvangai tokouno
ignore at time now and turn.towards we

i tangar do Kinoroingan om kuutai tokonou i
TM words of God and hold we TM

bilin do Kinoroingan.
command of God

(towards) the word of God, and let us hold onto the commands of God.

Paragraph 5:

21. Onuo tokouno tuladan iIva om iAdam iri
get we example Eve and Adam that

aki-odu tokou.
forefathers our

21. Let's take the example of Adam and Eve, our ancestors.

22. Kado Kinoroingan pointikid-tikid diti
said God every these

kouvaan siti Vardaus nga obuli muju akanon
fruits here Paradise then can you eat

sogisob-gisob do kouvangan muju.
as.much.as SUP please you

22. God said, 'You can eat as much as you like of every kind of fruit in Paradise.

23. Nga ada kouno pangakan do tuva dilo
but don't you eat NTM fruit that

sompuun i roitan tuva koilaan taandai om
one.tree SUB called fruit know good and

taraat, do bang aakan muju, ontok diri
bad because if eat you time that

kapangakanan muju ontok-i diri do apatai kou
eat you time that SUB die you

ka.
said

23. But don't eat the fruit of the tree that is called 'the fruit by which one can know good and bad', because if you eat it, at the time that you eat it, you will die,' He said.

24. Rongoo tokouno kon!
listen we isn't.it

24. Let's listen, won't we!

25. Okonko gigiina iti tinangar do
not a.little.bit these words of

Kinoroingan momogos diolo supaya au akanon
God forbid them so.that not eat

25. It wasn't just a little bit that the words of God forbade them [telling them] not to eat the fruit, but because they did

diolo i tuva nga sabap.do au iolo minangarap they TM fruit but because not they trust di nibilinin do Kinoroingan soira nobujukan di NTM commanded by God when persuaded by rogon sinumangalu do vulanut om pangakanno demon impersonate NTM snake and ate dii iolo. it they	not trust what God commanded, when they were persuaded by the demon who impersonated a snake, then they ate [some].
26. Oinomodno kosuladanku tikid-tikid barang true relatives.my every thing kapamagasan do Kinoroingan do mada do forbidden.thing by God SUB don't LK akanon nga sisiiri iri rogon do pointamong eat then there that demon SUB is.watching do momujuk do ginavo do tulun. to persuade NTM hearts of people	26. Truly, my brothers, for everything that is forbidden by God, [saying],'Don't eat [it],' there is a demon keeping a watch to persuade the hearts of the people.
27. Om poingkaa nogi ilo mundok iri vinaal and thus also that cassava that made do kinomol tontok do kopongiup tokou do NTM beer time SUB drink we NTM kinomol nga siri iri rogon. beer then there that demon	27. And it is like this also with cassava that is made into beer; at the time that we (inclusive) drink it then the demon is there.
28. Onu sabap do kivaro tulun do when reason SUB there.is people SUB osubaan? possessed	28. What is the reason that there are people who are possessed?
29. Bila kopongiup do mundok i vinaal do when drink NTM cassava SUB made NTM kinomol nga irino kuasa do rogon. beer then that.is power of demon	29. When they drink cassava that is made into beer, then there is the power of the demon.
30. Kivaro tulun bila bang kivaro there.is person when if there.is pongigiupan om kivaro dino moguod, 'Oo! drinking and have that be.destructive yes	30. Whenever there is drinking and there are those that are destructive, there are people who say, 'Yes, he is possessed.'

nosubaan, nosubaan,' kadino.
possessed possessed say.that

31. Om kivarono mitangar do, Oo! kivaro
and there.is speak SUB yes there.is

gia norongouku mongontik di
(certainty) heard.I bird.says.tik.tik at

tiinu, kadino om naangaian ialo
just.now says.that and suffer.consequences he

di kadaat kano, topisai do mundok kano
NTM omen says treat.with NTM cassava says

om tawarai-tawarai kano.
and speak.incantations.to.chalk says

31. And there are those who say, 'Yes, I heard the tik-tik bird (omen bird) just now,' and 'He will suffer the consequences of the broken taboo.' '[Let's] treat him cassava,' and '[Let's] repeat incantations,' they say.

32. Nga insan irad di kosusaan diolo aui
then once like that trouble their not

rumorogo iolo sabap au kotutun iolo di
repent they because not recognize they NTM

kuasa do rogon, abis au okito diolo iri
power of demon after.all not see they that

rogon poitanggu siri diolo di maso mongiup.
demon be.beside there them at time.of drinking

32. But even though they have trouble like that, they do not repent because they do not recognize the power of the demon; after all they do not see that demon [waiting] beside them while they are drinking.

33. Soira do okito di rogon iri tulun do
when LK see NTM demon that person SUB

mamatai ko moguod ko manawar,
fight or be.destructive or speak.incantations

adiii, koirak kopijo gia isido do
oh.my laughs very (certainty) he because

aandaian marong isido irad dii do koontong
likes very he like that SUB see

om ourumat gia isido.
and be.honoured (certainty) he

33. When the demon sees those people fighting, or being destructive or saying incantations, oh my, how he laughs, because he really likes to see it like that, and he is honoured.

34. Na oilaan tokou moino sabap.do minomogos
then know we now because forbade

i Kinoroingan diAdam om iIva do mangakan di
TM God Adam and Eve SUB eat NTM

34. But we (inclusive) know now that when God forbade Adam and Eve to eat the fruit, they did not die when they had eaten the fruit,

tuva do okon nogi do apatai iolo do
fruit SUB not also SUB die they because

kaakan di tuva topi irino do modi i
ate NTM fruit but that.is SUB perhaps TM

Kinoroingan do korijang iolo disido.
God SUB separated.from they him

but it was perhaps that God separated them from him.

Paragraph 6:

35. Sulodku poingkaa nogi ilo mundok i
brethren.my thus also that cassava SUB

navaal do kinomol i navaal do tiiupon,
made NTM beer SUB made for drinking

do au moo isido do korijang tokou,
because not want he SUB separate.from we

au moo isido do kivaro si pialatan
not want he that there.is who amongst

tokou do koompot do ukuman mivaja di
us SUB included NTM judgment be.with the

rogon.
demon

35. My brothers, it is the same way with cassava that is made into beer, that is made into a drink, because He does not want to separate from us, He does not want there to be anyone amongst us who will be included in the judgment along with the demons.

INSTRUCTIONS TO JUSTINA
By Matius Matulang

Paragraph 1:

1. Om monuturan oku dika Justina nung kumaako
and tell.story I you Justina if go.you

soi di Polipin maja di Miss mosti
there NTM Philippines follow NTM Miss must

monodiako atau mongoi ko mokigambar di
get.ready.you or go you ask.for.photo for

ukuran pasput.
measure passport

1. And I have some instructions for you, Justina, if you go to the Philippines with the Miss, you must get ready and ask for a photo to be taken for your passport.

2. Om aanunupoi om mongoi ko nogi
and get.you.already and go you also

soi imigrison om mokianuko di pom
there immigration and ask.to.get.you NTM form

om mokitulungko di Miss mongisi om barajan
and ask.help.you NTM Miss fill.in and pay

moi iri barangkali iri om tolu nopulu
perhaps that perhaps that and three ten

soroukui do povojoon di surat mivaja
think.I that including NTM letter followed.by

di gambarnu.
NTM photo.your

2. And when you have got it, then you go also to the immigration [department] and (you) ask to get the forms, and you ask the Miss to help you fill them in, and you pay perhaps thirty dollars, I think it is, including the forms (letter) and your photo.

3. Om muli kopo dino silo daton om
and return you that there us and

mongindadko do tolu vulan, do irad
wait.you for three months because like

moi dii dogon i pasputku tolu vulan
perhaps DM me NTM passport.my three months

ku mongindad om korikot nogi.
I wait and arrive also

3. Then you return to our place, and (you) wait three months, because [if it's] like (me) [when I got my passport], I waited three months before it arrived.

4. Jadi nung korikot mongoi kopo vagu kumaa
so if arrived go you again go

silo rumasakit do mokiinjiksin
there hospital in.order.to ask.for.injection

di kulira duvo moi ii ponginjik, om
NTM cholera two perhaps that injection and

taakanko nogi do iso surat do kabanaran do
give.you also NTM one letter for proof that

noinjiksinanko.
injected.you

4. So when you arrive, you go again to the hospital to ask for a cholera injection, two injections probably, and you will be given a letter as proof that you have had the injections.

5. Jadi aavi pono iri om baru
so finished (completion) that and then

nogi do majako di Miss kumaa silo
also SUB follow.you NTM Miss go there

5. So when that is finished, and only then, do you follow the Miss to Sandakan, and from Sandakan go to K.K. (Kota

Sandakan om antad Sandakan kumaa K.K.
Sandakan and from Sandakan go K.K.

om kumaa vagu silo Manila.
and go again there Manila

Kinabalu), and also go to Manila.

6. Korikot Manila koodop silo sonsodop om
arrived Manila sleep there one.night and

baru nogi lumombus do kumaa silo
then also proceed in.order.to go there

Kagayan Oro.
Kagayan Oro

6. When you reach Manila, [you] sleep there one night, and only then continue on to Cagayan de Oro.

7. Korikot silo aupo korikot kopijo sii
arrived there not.yet arrived very there

indadawon.
waiting.place

7. When you get there, you have not really arrived at the place you will stay.

8. Maja vagu kapal.tarabang do
follow again airplane in.order.to

kumaa silo Nasuli, jadi silono Nasuli
go there Nasuli so there Nasuli

ingkojodon.
stop

8. You take another plane to Nasuli, and so you stop at Nasuli.

Paragraph 2:

9. Jadi korikotko silo nunu karajawon
so arrived.you there whatever work

di Miss ipokuri disido dika ongoionno
NTM Miss give.work she you go

karajawo au buli do tumangkar, au buli do
work not can LK dispute not can LK

sumival, onu nopo pontudukon mosti do
argue whatever TM shown must LK

vojoon.
follow

9. So when you arrive there, whatever work the Miss gives you to do, go [ahead] and work [at it], [you] cannot refuse, [you] cannot argue; whatever [you] are shown [you] must follow.

10. Om misti do apandai do mogium do
and must LK clever.at SUB look.for NTM

10. (And) you must be clever at looking for friends; we (dual)

kawan, misti do akawan kito di tongotulun
friends must LK friends we NTM people

suvai om baru nogi do au ojongou kito.
other and then also LK not lonely we

must make friends with other people and only then will we (dual) not be lonely.

11. Nga bang poindada om masami au moo do
then if be.quiet and like not want SUB

kumikawan do vokon om mimangdo
make.friends.with NTM others and of.course

ojongou.
lonely

11. But (then) if you are quiet, and [act] as if you don't want to make friends with others, then of course [you] will be lonely.

12. Tapi nung mogium do kawan, na aui
but if look.for NTM friends then not

songkuro gia ojongou do kivarono
very.much (certainty) lonely because there.is

koruang.
friend

12. But if you look for friends, then you will not be very lonely because you will have a friend.

Paragraph 3:

13. Om varo kumituturan om oporlu do
and there.is tell.story and need SUB

poilo oku pasal poinggajud do urang.puti.
tell I about accompany NTM white.people

13. And I have (there are) some instructions for you, and I need to tell you about accompanying white people.

14. Irino do okonko mibagal daton.do
that.is that not like our

adat atau pun okonko mibagal di koubasan
customs or even not like SUB accustomed

tokou, do urang.puti nopo nga toodopon nga
we for white.people TM then beds then

misti do akamas, misti do ousai kopijo,
must LK tidy must LK be.in.order very

au milo do okutur, om pakayan nogi nga
not can.be LK dirty and clothes also then

mosti do pisususian, okonko gikolon-gikolon
must LK wash not curled.up

14. That is, it's not like our customs, or what we are accustomed to, because, for the white people, the beds must be tidy, they must be kept in good order, they cannot be dirty, and the clothes also must be [kept] washed, not curled up (because they are) not washed.

ino tongopakayan do au osusian.
those clothes because not washed

15. Om mangakan nga oikut moi ino masa
and eat then follow perhaps that time

ilo urang.puti do mangakan kadang-kadang
those white.people SUB eat sometimes

do pukul 12:00 tangaadau.
at o'clock 12:00 noon

15. And as for eating, [it seems] that those white people follow certain times to eat, sometimes 12:00 noon.

16. Kosuvabon nopo nga pukul 7:00 atau
early.morning TM then o'clock 7:00 or

pukul 6:30 om minsosodop pukul 6:00
o'clock 6:30 and afternoon o'clock 6:00

tumimpuun iolo mangakan.
start they eat

16. As for the early morning, it is 7:00 a.m. or 6:30 a.m. and in the afternoon it is 6:00 when they begin to eat.

Paragraph 4:

17. Koiso kavagu nung kivaro pokitudukon di
once again if there.is ask.to.teach NTM

Miss migabal.ko daton do tangar om aunu
Miss like our NTM words and not.you

oilaan nga misti do soromoon pogulu om bang
know then must LK think first and if

au moi oilaan nga kuoyonpo
not perhaps know then what.can.be.done.about

dii.
it

17. One more thing (once again), if there is something that the Miss asks you to teach her such as our (inclusive) language (words), and you don't know it, then you must think first, and if you [still] don't know it, nothing can be done about it.

18. Nga bang oilaani misti do popoiloko di
but if know must LK tell.you NTM

Miss, porotion i Miss sabap.nga
Miss make.understand NTM Miss because

irino kurion muju, poilo do tangar om
that.is work your tell NTM language and

onuno kukurion.
what work

18. But if you know it, you must tell the Miss; make her understand it, because that is your (plural) work to explain (tell) the language (words) and whatever other work there is.

19. Nga bang irad dika do tongondu bang then if like you NTM woman if aupo aavi iri karaja ada mindada not.yet finished that work don't wait/stop do kadang-kadang do masa mangakan, because sometimes at time eat koopod mangakan om susianno tongopinggan do finish eating and wash plates SUB maja diolo monusi. accompany them wash	19. Then if it is like you being a woman, if the work is not yet finished, don't stop, because sometimes when you eat and dishes are being washed after eating, accompany them to do the washing up.
20. Jadi avi iri om baru nogi tumingkod do so finish that and then also stop LK kumaraja om modopno ongosantagal kira do work and sleep for.awhile figure at satanga jaam. half hour	20. So only then do you stop working and sleep for a while, about half an hour.
21. Jadi tumungagno vagu om kumaraja vagu so get.up again and work again do muup di Miss. in.order.to help NTM Miss	21. So get up again, and work again helping the Miss.

Paragraph 5:

22. Om oporlu bagi daton tulun do Koristian and need for us people SUB Christian do koinsodu do minaganak au milo do SUB far.from NTM give.birth not can.be SUB momusorou nopo do minaganak i tama ko think.about only NTM give.birth TM father or sulod ko morou-sorou do muli sino sibling or thinking.about LK return there kampung sabap nga sosoroonto nopo iri nga village because then remember.we only that then i karajato nga au songkuro amaju om i TM work.our then not very progress and TM	22. And it is important (necessary) for us (inclusive) Christians [when] we are far from our parents - it is not possible to think only about our mother, our father or siblings, or keep thinking about returning home to the village, because when we just keep thinking about that, then our work does not progress much, and our knowledge decreases because it is choked

toilaan nga okurang sabap.nga nosidungan
knowledge then decreases because choked.out

diri tosorouto do morou-sorou kito di
those thoughts.our because thinking we SUB

muli si kampung.
return there village

out [crowded out] by our (dual) thoughts because we (dual) keep thinking about returning to the village.

Paragraph 6:

23. Om oporlu do bagi daton tulun do
and need LK for us people SUB

Koristian do tiap-tiap tadau do sumimbayang
Christians SUB every day LK pray

om i kosuraan do ginavo om sumimbayang
and TM worries of heart and pray

pataakon do Tuhan do mokitulung do mokiulud
give NTM Lord LK ask.help LK ask.peace

ataupo mokitulung do onu i apatut do
or ask.help SUB what TM right SUB

vaalonto monikid tadau om asaru mongoi do
do.we each day and always go SUB

sambayang.
pray

23. And it is important (necessary) for us Christians to pray every day, and when we pray we give the troubles of our hearts to the Lord to ask for His help and ask for peace, or to ask for help for whatever we ought to do each day, and always go to worship (pray).

Paragraph 7:

24. Jadi korikot siri sambayangan om sirino
so arrive there worship.place and there

asaru do kopisamung do tongokawan-kawan do
always LK meet.with NTM friends SUB

mantad sodu ko i somok-somok do osiliu
from far.away or TM near SUB become

do kawanto.
NTM friends.our

24. So when we arrive at the worship place, there we will always meet with friends from far away, or those nearby who have become friends.

25. Angaipo dii ioku di timpuunkui rumikot
see DM I SUB begin.I arrive

25. Take a look at me, when I first arrived (there) in Nasuli, I

silo Nasuli nga okonko kivaro kawanku
there Nasuli then not there.was friend.my

sumala kapo i Miss do totonudonku om iri
other than TM Miss SUB follow.I and those

tulun diri si valai nijononja do
people that there house living.place.our SUB

asaru do kumikuyaug ko onu nopo i sorita
always LK play or whatever TM TM story

di aandai soritawon.
SUB good tell.story

did not have any friends other than the Miss whom I accompanied, and the people in the house where we stayed who were always playing or telling good stories.

26. Nga laid-laid om asaru oku di mongoi
then long.time and always I LK go

sambayang do silo girija om sirino dii
pray in there church and there DM

kosomunganku diolo om sirino dii
met.I them and there DM

kopoitatangaranku diolo om na lama-lama
talked.to.each.other.I them and then long.time

osiliu do kawan.
become NTM friends

26. But after a while, I always went to worship (pray) in the church, and it was there that I met them, and it was there that I chatted with them, and after a while we became friends.

27. Jadi aupo vagu kinumaa oku sodi girija
so not.yet again went I there church

iso kampung.
one village

27. So I had not yet gone to the church in a certain village.

28. Jadi siri nga ogumu nogi kawan do
so there then many also friends SUB

nosomunganku jadi au kuno dii ajangaan
met.I so not I very lonely

do ogumu di kawanku.
because many NTM friends.my

28. So there also, there were lots of friends that I met, so I was not lonely since I had lots of friends.

29. Nga bang majako do tongokawan-kawan
but if follow.you NTM friends

do minsodu do mongoi soi kampung
in.order.to go.far SUB go there village

29. Then if you are going with friends far away to a village, you must ask the Miss first, and then you can go with them, and

misti do dumuatko di Miss gulu om baru do
must LK ask.you NTM Miss first and then LK

majako om misti intangan kopijo i tulun
follow.you and must watch very TM person

di vojoonnu andai dikau ko poingkuro
SUB follow.you good you or how

sabap.nga nung katanudko di tulun taraat
because if follow.you NTM person bad

nga kopisasalako nama do kavaja
then do.wrong.you probably because follow

disido om okonko asaru do kumiirak-irak do
him and not always LK laughing.with NTM

kusai, misti do okoniko do au mongirak nga
male must LK not LK not laugh but

irino komoion do i 'rama-tama' kado Malayu.
that.is meaning SUB TM flirting says Malay

you must look carefully at the person you are going with (accompany) to see whether [she] is good to you or how [she behaves], because if you go with a bad person, you probably will do wrong when accompanying him/her; and don't always laugh with the boys; it isn't that you must not laugh, but that means 'flirting', as they say in Malay.

30. Komoion nopo nga mibagal.koi osusu kito
meaning TM then like welcome we

di kawan do suvai.
NTM friends LK other

30. As for the meaning of that it is like we welcome other friends.

31. Jadi aui panantaman kito do tulun do
so not think we by person SUB

osumbung.
stuck.up

31. So people will not think we (dual) are stuck up.

32. Jadi alika nogi nga ogumu tongotulun do
so better also then many people SUB

kumawan daton.
be.friends our

32. So it is better if lots of people are friends with us.

Paragraph 8:

33. Om soira do mibagal.ko kitoruolko,
and when LK like have.illness.you

inggalaanko tulu ka atau pun orualan nipon
dizzy.you head say or even pain tooth

33. And if you are sick, or have a dizzy head or a toothache or a fever, then you must tell Miss; because take a look at me,

atau pun kangkagan om misti do popoiloko di or even fever then must LK tell.you NTM Miss sabap.nga angai di ioku di masokupo Miss because see NTM I at time.I.still silo Nasuli nga orualan oku nipon. there Nasuli then pain I tooth	the time that I was in Nasuli, (then) I had a toothache.
34. Jadi misti popoilo oku di Miss. so must tell I NTM Miss	34. So I must tell the Miss.
35. Na koilo i Miss turus do oviton oku then knew TM Miss at.once LK took me do kumaa silo Mautin Vieu in.order.to go there Mountain View do mokiatag di nipon. in.order.to ask.for.repair NTM tooth	35. Then when Miss knew at once, I was taken to Mountain View to ask for the tooth to be fixed.
36. Nga au okui nosobutan, nga masii oruol. then not I pull.out then still sore	36. Then I did not have it pulled, but it was still sore.
37. Jadi lalaid ovito oku vagu di Miss so after.a.while took me again NTM Miss do kumaa silo Malaibalai do in.order.to go there Malaybalay in.order.to mokisabut do nipon. ask.to.pull.out NTM tooth	37. So after a while Miss took me again to Malaybalay to ask for my tooth to be pulled.
38. Jadi kasabuti ausono dii dogon toruol so pulled.out nothing DM my illness gia. (certainty)	38. So when it was pulled out I did not have any more pain.
39. Om insanpo vagu kinangkagan oku. and once.yet also fever I	39. And once I also had a fever.
40. Kangkagai oku diri inggalaan oku tulu. fever I that dizzy I head	40. When I had the fever, I had a dizzy head.
41. Na poilo oku di Miss. then tell I NTM Miss	41. Then I told the Miss.

42. Na onuai oku diolo do ubat paakano
then gave I them NTM medicine ate

oku andai gia.
I good (certainty)

42. Then they gave me some medicine, which I took and was all right.

43. Nolingosi di dogon do tulu om i dogon
healed LK my NTM head and TM my

kongkog nga auno dii oruol, au kuno dii
fever then not DM pain not I DM

sogiton.
chill

43. My head and fever were healed, then I did not have any pain or chills.

44. Okonko do mootos do au popoilo do
not SUB quiet SUB not tell NTM

vokon.
others

44. [You] [must] not be quiet and not tell others.

45. Popoilo di Miss sabap.nga ausono irad
tell NTM Miss because no.one like

sulodnu ko irad do tamanu do
sibling.your or like NTM father.your because

silo sodu sumala.kapo do i Miss vovojoonnu.
there far other.than LK TM Miss follow.you

45. You tell the Miss, because there is no one like a relative, or like your father because they are far away, no one except the Miss that you are with.

46. Jadi bang mindada ko aunu poiloon i
so if wait you not.you tell TM

Miss jadi poingkuro gia dii i Miss
Miss so how (certainty) that TM Miss

koilo di dika toruol.
know NTM your illness

46. So if you wait [and] you don't tell Miss, then how would the Miss know about your illness.

Paragraph 9:

47. Jadi itino.iti dogon do pontudukan do
so this.is my NTM advice SUB

soirako do kavaja di Miss toun do
when.you LK follow NTM Miss year SUB

sumuvoli sabap.nga okonko maja di Miss
take.place.of because not follow NTM Miss

47. So these are my instructions (advice) [for you] when you go with the Miss next year because you are not to accompany the Miss thinking about taking it easy; on the other hand, whatever

om ingat nopo do misinsanang
and remember only SUB be.at.ease

suvaiko nombo iri karajavon iri
on.the.other.hand.you where that work that

mangan kurio om irino sosoroon sumorou di
do work and that.is think think.of NTM

karaja om i apatut di vaalon, okonko
work and TM proper SUB do not

ingat di kumikuyaug nopo di
remember SUB play.with.each.other only NTM

kawan suvaiko kivaro masa do mongoi si
friends otherwise there.is time LK go there

kawan om mongoi kumiandamandam,
friend and go visit.with.each.other

kivaro masa do kumaraja.
there.is time LK work

work there is to do, (do) work at it, and think about it, think about the work and whatever should be done; don't just think about playing with your friends; on the other hand, there is a time to go to [your] friends and go to visit, [and] there is a time to work.

48. Isoon karaja om isoon do mongoi
one.is work and one.is in.order.to go

mandam do kawan.
visit NTM friends

48. There is one time for working, and one for going to visit friends.

Paragraph 10:

49. Om bang kivaro kogunaannu do siin do
and if there.is use.your NTM money LK

oindudukut bolijon nga mistino do dumuatko di
whatever buy then must LK ask.you NTM

Miss do mokianu ongopiro-pirono.
Miss in.order.to ask.to.get several

49. And if you need (have use for) money to buy something, then you must ask the Miss [to give you] a few [dollars].

50. Nga okonko do itaam gagaavo i siin
then not SUB throw.away freely TM money

misti do oporlu kopijo i onuon om baru nogi
must LK need very TM get and then also

do mitangarko di Miss.
LK speak.you NTM Miss

50. But don't throw your money away freely, you must really have a need, and only then speak to the Miss.

Paragraph 11:

51. Om bang mongoiko monsu soi livotung
and if go.you bathe there lake

do kivaro moi poponsuon sodi ogumu
because there.is maybe bathing there many

tongotulun do mongoi monsu siri.
people SUB go bathe there

51. And if you go to bathe in the pool, then there is a place for bathing there, and lots of people go there to bathe.

52. Nga adako mongoi sumosoiso, suvaiko
but don't.you go all.alone otherwise

bang auso dika do kawan majako di Miss
if none your NTM friend follow.you NTM Miss

do mongoi monsu sabap.nga nung
in.order.to go bathe because if

sosongulunko mongoi bang nolonodko isai dii
one.person.you go if drown.you who DM

nokoilo do auso nokoontong dika.
knew because no.one saw you

52. But don't (you) go alone; on the other hand, if you have no friend [to go with], (you) go with the Miss when you go to bathe, because if you go alone, and if you should drown, who would know about it, because no one would have seen you.

53. Kivaro motuu suvai koontong nga okonko
there.is perhaps others see but not

papaarati di Miss.
explain NTM Miss

53. There are perhaps others who would see you, but they would not explain to the Miss.

54. Jadi irino mosti popoiloko di Miss atau
so that.is must tell.you NTM Miss or

pun isai nopo kawannu mokigajud
even whoever TM friend.your ask.to.accompany

do mongoi monsu.
in.order.to go bathe

54. So that is why you must tell the Miss or whoever your friend is that you ask to accompany you to go bathing.

Paragraph 12:

55. Jadi ausono ponudukanku dika suvai.
so nothing advice.my you other

55. So I have no other advice for you.

56. Itino.iti misti tonudonnu.
this.is must follow.you

56. These are the things that you must follow.

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HORTATORY MITIGATION: THE CASE OF THE CAMOUFLAGED BACKBONE

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1. Introduction
2. The backbone
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3.1 Command element
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1. Introduction

For most intentions that a speaker has, there seems to be a natural straightforward discourse type for carrying out the intention. If one believes that intentions can be classified according to the strategies that are used to fulfill them, then there are many examples of discourse in which the natural, straightforward strategy has not been chosen. Often, it is fairly easy to say why the straightforward strategy was not chosen. For example, one may get a narrative discourse when asking for a definition in which the narrative allows the hearer to construct his own definition from the evidence, and the skewed choice of strategy can be accounted for by the fact that a narrative can be more graphic and concrete than an abstract definition while achieving much the same intention. Similarly, if the intention of the speaker is to change the behavior of the hearer, and if the speaker has the status and authority, he will probably choose the straightforward strategy of direct commands. On the other hand, if the speaker does not have the authority, he will camouflage his intention by using a persuasive strategy rather than one involving direct commands.

This, then, raises a theoretical question. At what point do we talk about the modification of a discourse type, such as a mitigated hortatory discourse, and at what point do we say that an entirely different discourse structure, such as predictive, or even descriptive expository discourse structure is substituted for the hortatory form?

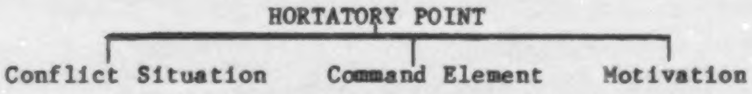
This paper[1] initially approaches that problem by examining two Cotabato Manobo[2] texts. The first text[3] is an unmitigated hortatory text in which the speaker as a Manobo chieftain has the status and authority to give direct commands. In the second text[4] the speaker does not have the status and authority to order his hearers to do what he wishes, but he is forced instead to use persuasive means to achieve his purpose. The first text is presented primarily as a normative point of reference and provides a basis of comparison for the second text. This paper compares these two texts as they are analyzed at present, but it does not attempt to make generalizations about the language as a whole.

2. The backbone

A central question for the study of discourse is that of characterizing the nature of backbone elements. Much fruitful work on narrative discourse has been done on the assumption that the backbone of a narrative discourse consists of a string of events or actions played out over a sequence of times and places by an interacting cast of participants.[5] Developing this idea further, Longacre (1981) has invoked the metaphor of spectrum to describe the foregrounding and backgrounding effect produced by the choice of verb forms used to encode this kind of backbone: dynamic action verbs are at the top of the spectrum ('foregrounded' in the sense of Hopper and Thompson 1980), and static equatives are at the bottom of the spectrum, highly backgrounded and thus at some distance from the line of action which we might refer to as backbone, and in between is a cline of forms ranked from dynamic to static. Somewhere along this cline is a threshhold, above which we have verb forms that qualify as backbone elements for the narrative, and below which we have background elements, not directly included within the backbone.

Now, a central question for the study of hortatory discourse is that of characterizing the nature of hortatory backbones. What is the hortatory analogue of the spatio-temporal sequence of events in a narrative? What is it that provides a hortatory discourse with a sense of progression or progress toward fulfilment of the speaker's intentions? What is it that tips the hearer or reader off to the nature of this backbone early enough and in such a way as to allow him to adopt an effective strategy for following the progress of the text?

Earlier answers to these questions (see Brichoux and Hale 1977) have been given to the effect that the command element of the hortatory discourse plays a role highly analogous to that of the action or event in narrative. The command element functions not only as a kind of conceptual nucleus for the hortatory point, but also as the unit of progression within the hortatory backbone.



For nonmitigated discourse, this view provides a kind of schema for understanding hortatory discourse, and since unmitigated hortatory discourse is relatively unskewed, it has also been used as an effective quasi-grammatical charting strategy for analysis. For mitigated discourse, however, the command element is frequently camouflaged to such an extent that if one decides to chart such command elements semantically by brute force, the column of forms that results is hard to accept as a grammatically characterizable backbone, yet it is equally difficult to accept alternative chartings in which grammatical consistency is given priority, since such chartings fail to isolate anything that qualifies as a semantically central thread or backbone which encodes the progress of the discourse in achieving the intent of the speaker or writer.

One of the problems with our second text, the mitigated one, then, is that of defining the nature of the backbone that propels the discourse forward. If one places highest priority on the grammatical imperative forms in defining a backbone, then mitigation could easily be viewed as having the effect of depleting the backbone.[6] To view mitigated hortatory discourse as having little or nothing in the backbone is to say that there is little or nothing in the surface structure of the text that drives the discourse forward. We reject that alternative because this text does have a strong line of development, in spite of the heavy mitigation which characterizes it. Another alternative is to place the major emphasis on the semantic function in defining a backbone, and from this point of view we would not have a depleted backbone, but one that contains forms that resemble those of expository or some other discourse type. The theory that mitigated hortatory masquerades in expository form is an attractive one which for this text, however, solves fewer problems than it raises.[7]

The solution to the problem appears to require a careful distinction between the function of files[8] and the function of trees in hortatory discourse. In unmitigated discourse, the function of files in interpreting commands is simply that of reading the overt semantics of the trees. In mitigated discourse, the function of the files is more complex. At certain points in the discourse, mitigation banishes the content and polarity[9] of the commands from the backbone main clause and scatters them about in the conflict situation and motivation structures in the trees. The files reconstruct a backbone of commands by inference based on their camouflaged representations in the trees, and in so doing the files penetrate the tree oriented camouflage. On the other hand, although the tree structure does not give overt expression to all the commands, it does provide the structual basis for the inference of commands. The trees do provide the necessary help in inference: they do not constitute malicious camouflage, but rather benign camouflage. One purpose of this paper, then, is to illustrate the relationship of files and trees in terms of the texts under study.

By comparing a sample of unmitigated discourse with a sample of highly mitigated discourse, this paper suggests that the notion of backbone as that element of a discourse that marks linear progress throughout the discourse is better defined in terms of the strategies for accomplishing goals within the discourse than it is in terms of narrow semantic definitions for backbone units such as have been used by Hale.[10]

In sequential discourses, the general form of the backbone is that of events occurring in sequence. But, in nonsequential discourses, the parameters for the backbone may be topically specified, and the backbone is a topic line which is developed. Progress along the backbone is achieved by developing the topic, and the unifying thread of the discourse is its topics, which may change during the discourse. In general, then, the backbone is a topic line in which the topic is selectively built, and often built in layers. Although the idea of topic line is not fully developed in this paper, we did analyze the mitigated text in terms of a topic line (Section 5.3). This topic line analysis may form the basis of a future work on discourse.

In the hortatory texts analyzed in this paper, we suggest that the peak of the text is a central, generic portion to which the specifics or behavioral commands are accreted. The listener expects the speaker to develop the generic topic by means of the specifics. In a sense, the specifics are more vivid and more measurable, and they are important in defining the behavior required. In Section 6 on macro-structure in this paper, we attempt to show the link between the generic topic and the specifics.

Introduction to the charts of hortatory discourse

In analyzing the two hortatory texts for this paper, we divided the clauses or sentences into three columns, (1) Conflict Situation, (2) Command Element, and (3) Motivation. In our analysis of the grammatical structure, we assumed that the conflict situation would contain the grammatical setting clauses and conditional clauses, and that the command element would be a grammatical main clause, and that the motivation would be grammatical elaboration clauses, giving reasons, purposes, consequences, and evaluations.[11] In the unmitigated text, there is little skewing between the grammatical forms and the semantics. In the mitigated discourse, however, the semantics and the grammatical forms diverge, but we have retained a grammatical analysis. Therefore, we noted in the command element column where we felt that a command was to be inferred from one of the other columns.

Conflict Situation	Command Element	Motivation
1. O Bagungen, I am sending my letter to you because I hear that you are always doing bad.		
2. This is what I am saying to you:		

Figure 1. Chart of unmitigated hortatory (cont. next page)

Conflict Situation	Command Element	Motivation
	3. Don't always be fighting with our companions.	
	4. And don't always be womanizing.	
	5. And don't flirt with the wife of your companion or the wife of another person.	
		6. That is bad.
	7. As for what you are doing, stop that.	
	8. This [instead] is what you ought to do [imperative] namely just your working of the earth	so that you will live.
9. If you will always be doing the bad (things)		you will perish, you will be stabbed by people.
10. Therefore	stop that.	
11. Now, if you will not obey what I am saying,		I who am your elder, you will be punished (by consequences), as if you are just a child.
	12. This instead is what you ought to show [imperative] to all our companions, namely the good things, and to all other people also	so that their feelings towards you will be good also so that you also will not perish.

Figure 1. Chart of unmitigated hortatory

Comments on Figure 1

Figure 1 represents an unmitigated hortatory discourse, where the author gives very direct commands to the addressee so as to influence the addressee to change his bad behavior and do good. The author gives certain consequences of obedience or disobedience as the motivation for obeying.

Conflict Situation	Command Element	Motivation
1. Now, as for all of our number	the word of our Father God who dwells in heaven will be heard.	
		2. Our hearts are good now
as for all of us who believe.		
3. Even though (there are) some people who do not believe	we will increase our faith in Jesus	so that we will receive our life without end.
	4. And as for our hearts, we will give (them) to Jesus	so that we will be able to receive his power.
5. If that is so we who are his people on earth		we have fellowship
6. Tell me if you believe on Jesus.		
7. If Satan is the one whom you believe/obey	[COMMAND IMPLIED]	we will be separated.
8. Because if we are [grouped] with Jesus	[COMMAND IMPLIED]	we will never be changed so that we will/do not have difficulty.

Figure 2. Chart of mitigated hortatory (cont. next page)

Conflict Situation	Command Element	Motivation
9. O my companions, who have not yet heard the word of God when he sent his son Jesus to this earth of ours,	God's desire is that he will cause all kinds of people on earth to believe	
	[COMMAND IMPLIED]	so that we will believe on his son Jesus.
		10. He is the one who pays for the sins of all people on earth.
		11. Not only ours,
		12. [but] all people on the face of the earth.
		13. What he used in saving [us] of our sins was their killing Jesus because of his having paid for our sins against God.
	[COMMAND IMPLIED]	14. That's why so that we will follow Jesus.
15. If that is so		God will forgive our sins against him.
16. If we won't follow the word of Jesus	[COMMAND IMPLIED]	our sins will not be removed.
		17. That is what will come to us, namely we will die of sickness and we will be stabbed.

Figure 2. Chart of mitigated hortatory (cont. next page)

Conflict situation	Command Element	Motivation
		18. Many are the bad things that will come to us.
		19. That is why I am teaching you the law of God which makes hearts good.
20. If we will follow him	[COMMAND IMPLIED]	we will live.
21. Many are the things he forbids us:	we will refuse to be angry, we will refuse to steal, we will also refuse to steal our companion's spouse.	
	22. We will refuse to tell lies and we will also refuse to play around with our companion's spouse.	
		23. All of that is bad towards God, all of that is sin against God.
24. This is our right/correct believing:	[COMMAND IMPLIED] first God, secondly Jesus, thirdly the Holy Spirit of God who dwells in us	if our faith believing in him is true.
25. Now, that's all of my words telling of the way of your believing.		

Figure 2. Chart of mitigated hortatory

3. Comparison of unmitigated and mitigated hortatory

This section of the paper will compare the unmitigated hortatory with the mitigated one, looking at them along the following parameters: 1. command element, 2. conflict situation, 3. motivation, 4. component peaks, 5. structure, and 6. macro-structure. In each part, we will discuss the similarities and differences that occur, and focus primarily on the mitigated text.

3.1 Command element

Within the component we have chosen to call the command element, there are surprisingly few grammatical similarities between these two texts. Especially striking is the contrast between the overt main clause commands where commands are central to the tree structure of the text in Figure 1 and the mitigated exhortations in the form of either grammatical future action verbs or implicit commands entirely absent from the trees, but clearly implied and to be inferred from the files in the text of Figure 2. The command element in the unmitigated text is expressed by main clause commands and interpreted via the overt tree structure. The trees are undistorted grammatically and unskewed in respect to the files. On the other hand, the command element in the mitigated discourse is often expressed by the margins and interpreted via the file strategies. The trees and files are skewed, and the trees are distorted to achieve mitigation.

An explanation for this discrepancy is found in the differences in the relationship of the speaker to hearer. The unmitigated discourse was given by a Manobo datû or chieftain to a younger man whom he wanted to correct, so the frequent use of imperatives is natural. But the mitigated discourse was given by a Manobo man in his late twenties, with a much lower social standing in the community, so his exhortations are highly mitigated.

The unmitigated discourse uses both negative and positive commands. The negative commands occur in sentences 3, 4, and 5, namely, 'Don't always be fighting with our companions. And don't always be womanizing. And don't flirt with the wife of your companion or the wife of another person.' The positive prohibitions occur in sentences 7 and 10, namely, 'stop that', in both cases. Sentence 7 is noteworthy because it contains a preposed topic as well as a shadow demonstrative pronoun (a redundant anaphoric demonstrative referring back to the topic), thereby highlighting the generic noun phrase topic 'as for what you are doing'.

Sentences 8 and 12 in this text are similar in that they both use a cataphoric demonstrative pronoun to highlight the final noun phrase, namely 'This which you ought to do is your working of the earth' in sentence 8 and 'This which you ought to show to all our companions is the good things' in sentence 12. Another unique similarity of these two sentences is the occurrence of an imperative verb form in a beheaded noun phrase, which I have translated as 'what you ought to...' Also, these two sentences represent in a positive way what the author expects the addressee to do, namely, to work on the land in sentence 8 and to show/do good to people in sentence 12.

In the mitigated hortatory, the exhortation is semantically carried by the use of future action verbs and equational type clauses. There is one occurrence of a circumstantial future verb in sentence 1, 'the word of our Father God...will be heard.' If this were an unmitigated hortatory, the author would probably have used an imperative, such as 'hear the word of God'.

The most frequent forms found in the command element of the mitigated hortatory are the future action verbs that are used both positively and negatively, that is, for things that one should do and also for things that one should not do. The positive future actions are in sentences 3 and 4: 'we will increase our faith in Jesus' and 'we will give our hearts to Jesus' (respectively). The negative future actions are the list of things in sentences 21 and 22: 'we will refuse to be angry, we will refuse to steal, we will also refuse to steal our companion's spouse. We will refuse to tell lies, and we will also refuse to play (around) with our companion's spouse.' In all of these sentences, there is a skewing in the files in that the second person normal imperative form shifts to a first person inclusive form.[12]

At the peak of the command element (see Section 4) in the mitigated discourse, a pseudo-cleft sentence (or equational clause) with a future action verb occurs in sentence 9: 'God's desire is that he will cause all kinds of people on earth to believe.' In an unmitigated hortatory, the author might well have used a simple imperative 'believe', but this pseudo-cleft sentence was used here. This sentence also makes use of the files in reconstructing the command element. In the chart of this text, I have charted the grammatical purpose clause 'so that we will believe on his son Jesus' as motivation because of the surface conjunction 'so that'. But this purpose clause can be used to reconstruct the command 'believe on Jesus', which develops or amplifies the main clause of this sentence.

One of the more highly mitigated forms in the command element occurs at sentence 24, verbless clauses are used: first God, secondly Jesus, thirdly the Holy Spirit of God...' If the analysis of this sentence places the generic introductory clause, 'This is our right believing', as the conflict situation (parallel to sentence 21 in this text and sentence 2 in the unmitigated text), then the command 'believe' is to be reconstructed from the files. If this were an unmitigated hortatory, the author would probably have used straightforward imperatives, such as 'first believe on God, secondly believe on Jesus'.

The most highly mitigated forms of all, however, are those which are not expressed as commands in the surface structure trees, but which are understood as commands primarily on the basis of inference within the files. From a theoretical point of view, these are also the most interesting because of the way that the files penetrate the camouflaging trees. In this text, the files reconstruct commands at sentences 7, 8, 9, 14, 16, 20, and 24.

In sentence 7, the conflict situation, 'If Satan is the one whom you believe', provides the content of the implied command, 'Don't believe in Satan', which is constructed from the files. The polarity for this reconstructed command is found in the motivation, which could be paraphrased as 'so that we will not be separated'.

Similarly, in sentence 8, the content of the implied command, 'Be (grouped) with Jesus', is constructed by the files from the conflict situation, 'if we are (grouped) with Jesus', and the positive polarity[13] of the command is found in the motivation, which could be paraphrased as 'so that we/you will not have difficulty'.

We briefly commented on sentence 9 previously, but it is worthwhile to point out again that the files reconstruct the implied command, 'believe on Jesus', from the grammatical purpose clause charted in the motivation column, 'so that we will believe on his son Jesus'.

Sentence 14, 'That's why so that we will follow Jesus', is similar to sentence 9 in that there is a grammatical subordinate purpose clause from which the files reconstruct an implied command 'Follow Jesus'. This command is then anaphorically referred to by the conflict situation clause in sentence 15, 'If that is so', and the positive force of this implied command is found in the motivation of sentence 15, which could be paraphrased as 'so that God will forgive your sins'.

In sentence 16, the conflict situation, 'If we won't follow the word of Jesus', provides the content for the files-constructed implied command, 'Don't make the mistake of not following Jesus.' Again, the motivation provides the negative force or polarity for this command, which can be paraphrased as '(because if you do), your sins will not be forgiven'.

Similarly, in sentence 20, the content of the implied command, 'Follow him', is reconstructed by the files from the conditional clause in the conflict situation, 'If we will follow him'. Again, the positive force of the command comes from the motivation, which can be paraphrased as 'so that you will live'.

Sentence 24, which was commented on earlier, is an example of how the implied commands that the files reconstruct can be deeply embedded in the trees grammatically. Here, the semantic command, 'believe', is embedded as a gerund head of a noun phrase in an equational clause, thereby leaving the surface structure command element clauses as containing no action verb.

Finally, it may be argued by some that the conflict situation clause of sentences 21 and 24 should be considered as the backbone because of the content of these clauses. That is, the words 'forbids' and 'believing' in these clauses are used by the files to construct an implied command, for example, 'don't do these things' in sentence 21, and 'believe this' in sentence 24. However, in my analysis, these clauses are generic and are used to introduce the specific actions that make up the command element of these sentences; and because they are generic, they act as setting and are not on the backbone.

3.2 Conflict situation

That element that we are calling conflict situation has two primary functions. First, it gives the setting or situation to which the command applies, and secondly it comprises or reinforces the content of the command, especially in the mitigated text. The conflict situation of both the straightforward and the mitigated texts is similar in that they both use equational clauses and conditional clauses.

An equational clause is used in sentence 2 of the unmitigated hortatory, 'This is what I am saying to you:' as an introducer to the list of prohibitions that occur in the following three sentences. Similarly, in the mitigated hortatory, the equational clause, 'Many are the things he forbids us', is used in sentence 21 to introduce the future action verbs. Likewise, in sentence 24 the equational clause 'This is our right believing', is used to introduce the following list. The cataphoric pronoun 'This' in sentence 24 and the predicate 'Many' in sentence 21 are used to highlight the clauses that follow.

Conditional clauses are very common in hortatory discourse. In the first text, sentences 9 and 11 contain these conditional clauses 'If you will always be doing the bad things', and 'if you will not obey what I am saying', that are used to introduce the consequences of obedience or disobedience (respectively). Alternatively, these could be viewed as implicit commands rather than as conflict situation, as was frequently done in our analysis of the mitigated text.

In the mitigated hortatory text, the conflict situation is most frequently expressed by means of a conditional clause. The conditional clauses are often paired together as negative-positive, such as in sentences 7 and 8: 'If Satan is the one whom you believe' and 'if we are with Jesus' (respectively). It is important to note here that sentence 7 expresses a real condition, not a concession as is found in I John 2:1 'If we sin, we have an advocate...' Also, in sentences 16 and 20: 'If we won't follow the word of Jesus', and 'If we will follow him' (respectively). There are two occurrences of anaphoric conditional clauses, 'If that is so', in this text at sentences 5 and 15. The one in sentence 5 refers back to the command element in sentences 3 and 4, and the one in sentence 15 refers back to what I have charted as motivation in sentence 14. Since these two anaphorically refer to the commands in the preceding sentences, we consider them to be not on the backbone.

The conflict situation is expressed in several different ways in these two texts. We will comment briefly on each in turn.

The opening sentence 1 in the unmitigated discourse quickly introduces the conflict situation by giving the author's purpose in writing the letter, namely, that he has heard that the addressee is doing bad things and his desire is to correct the situation.

The conflict situation in the mitigated hortatory centers around identification rather than action or situation. In this type of conflict situation, the addressee may make the mistake of being one who does not believe, rather than doing the wrong thing. This would suggest that be is a mitigated form of do, and if so, then one effect of mitigation is that of moving down the spectrum from dynamic to static forms. This is developed by using a noun phrase sentence topic, as in sentence 2, and by an equational identification clause, as in sentence 5. In sentence 2, the phrase, 'as for all of us who believe', introduces the identification conflict between those who believe and those who don't. The author's use of an inclusive pronoun here is probably due to mitigation, because of his showing respect to his audience. The equational clause in sentence 5 'we who are his people on earth', tends to highlight the identification conflict of being a Jesus person or not. Although the conflict situation is encoded in addressee forms, it is again the function of the files to reinterpret it as a conflict situation.

The conflict situation in the mitigated hortatory is also expressed by use of a rhetorical command[14] in sentence 6, 'Tell me if you believe on Jesus.' This clause is significant because it has the first occurrence of a second person pronoun in the discourse. It also highlights the identification conflict by allowing the option that the addressee might not be identified with those who believe. That this clause contains the one and only occurrence of a grammatically overt command form in this hortatory discourse and that it is simply a rhetorical command in the conflict setting is quite significant. Therefore, I believe that this clause is the conflict situation peak in this discourse (refer to Section 4).

The conflict situation is also expressed by the use of a vocative plus a relative clause in sentence 9: 'O my companions who have not yet heard the word of God...' Here the author identifies his audience as the group that has not yet heard God's word, thereby implying that they are identified as the group that does not believe.

The conflict situation in the mitigated hortatory is also expressed by means of a concession clause in sentence 3: 'Even though there are some people who do not believe.' This clause represents the complication or inciting incident in the text, in that the author is conceding that it is possible for people to be identified with unbelievers.

3.3 Motivation

The element that we refer to as motivation typically carries or reinforces the positive or negative force of the command, and only rarely embodies the content of the command. The motivation element of these two texts is similar in that they both present evaluative material, future results, and future consequences. The mitigated hortatory, being the longer text, has more variation in the motivation element and does contain an embedded expository paragraph.

One of the ways that motivation is presented in both texts is by the author's evaluation of the actions done by the addressee. This is found in sentence 6 in the first text, 'That is bad.' Also, sentence 23 of the second text gives an evaluation of the actions that are to be rejected in the preceding sentences, by saying that 'All of that is bad towards God, all of that is our sin against God.'

Motivation as a future result presents what a person will achieve if he obeys the author's request. In sentence 8 of the first text, the result of working the land is 'so that you will live'. Also, in sentence 12, the result of doing good to others is 'so that their feelings towards you will be good and so that you also will not perish'. Note that this future result in 12 is the opposite of the future consequence in sentence 9. In the mitigated hortatory text, the future result clauses occur in sentences 3, 4, and 20. These are 'so that we will receive our life without end', and 'so that we will be able to receive his power', and 'we will live (have longevity)' (respectively).

In the mitigated hortatory, there are things that I have charted as motivation because of the surface structure form 'so that', but they form the content of the implied commands that the files construct. These occur in sentences 9 and 14, 'so that we will believe on his son Jesus', and 'so that we will follow Jesus'. These were discussed earlier when we considered implied commands.

One of the main ways that motivation is expressed in hortatory discourse is by presenting the consequences of obedience or disobedience, that is, by presenting what will happen to the person if he obeys or disobeys the author's request. In the straightforward hortatory, the future consequences of disobedience occur in sentences 9 and 11, namely, 'you will perish, you will be stabbed by people' and 'you will be punished by consequences' (respectively). It is significant, perhaps, that sentence 9 has an unusual low level grammatical feature that is used for added emphasis. In this sentence there is a passivelike construction where an object focused verb relates to a focused actor pronoun, rather than the more frequent construction of a focused object pronoun.[15] That is, we have (see list of abbreviations in Appendices):

...dileken ka etaw wa.
stab.OF you.AF people PT
'...you will be stabbed by people.'

rather than

...dileken etaw kuna ya.
stab.OF people you.OF PT
'...people will stab you.'

In the mitigated text, motivation is presented by the consequences of obedience in sentences 8 and 15, namely, 'we will never be changed so that we will not have difficulty', and 'God will forgive our sins against him' (respectively). The consequences of disobedience, or being an unbeliever, occur in sentences 7 and 16, namely, 'we will be separated', and 'our sins will not be removed' (respectively).

The mitigated hortatory employs some different ways of presenting motivation. The two ways presented in this paragraph are quite closely related to the preceding paragraphs, in that we will look at a present result clause and equational clauses with future consequence. Motivation as a present result clause occurs in sentence 5 'we have fellowship'. The equational clauses with future consequence occur in sentences 17 and 18: 'That is what will come to us, namely, we will die of sickness and we will be stabbed' and 'Many are the bad things that will come to us.'

Motivation is presented in the mitigated text by means of a state description in sentence 2 and by means of a conditional equational clause in sentence 24. In sentence 2 we have 'our hearts are good now', and in sentence 24, 'if our faith in him is true'.

An embedded expository paragraph expresses motivation in this text at sentences 10 to 14. This expository paragraph could be analyzed as follows:

Topic:
(sentence 10) He is the one who pays for the sins of all people on earth.
Comment:
Identification:
(sentence 11) Not only ours.
(sentence 12) But all people on the face of the earth.
Past means:
(sentence 13) What he used in saving (us) of our sins was their killing Jesus because of his having paid for our sins against God.
Purpose:
(sentence 14) That's why so that we will follow Jesus.

Briefly, then, the motivation expressed in the preceding paragraph is that our sins have been paid for by Jesus' death, so we ought to believe.

Finally, the particular type of motivation which I have termed 'author's clout' is expressed differently in the two texts. These occur at the peak of the motivation profile and are used to highlight or give added emphasis to the reason why the audience should obey. In the first text in sentence 11, there are two examples of what I've labeled 'author's clout'. These are 'I who am your elder' and 'you are just a child'. Those two clauses function by giving an underlying reason why the addressee must obey the author in order to show proper respect to his elder, and secondly by overtly indicating the sociolinguistic relationship of the author to the addressee. In the mitigated hortatory, an 'author's comment' occurs in sentence 19, 'That is why I am teaching you the law of God which makes hearts good.' This editorial underlining shows the author's desire that the audience follow his request to believe.

3.4 Component peaks

Conflict Situation	Command Element	Motivation
1. I hear that as for you, you are always doing bad.		
	7. As for what you are doing, stop that.	
		11. ...I who am your elder...

Figure 3. Component peaks in the unmitigated hortatory

Conflict Situation	Command Element	Motivation
6. Tell me if you believe on Jesus.		
	9. God's desire is that he will cause all kinds of people to believe so that we will believe...	
		19. That's why I am teaching you the law of God which makes hearts good.

Figure 4. Component peaks in the mitigated hortatory

Discussion

In hortatory discourse, the peak of a component is that point at which the author makes the most complete or clearest statement of the content of the component. If the listening strategy for hortatory consists of three questions, namely:

(1) What are the situations or choice points in which one could go wrong? Or, under what circumstances or to what situations and individuals do the commands apply?
(2) What must one do?
(3) Why should one do it?

then a peak occurs at the point where a particular question is answered to the satisfaction of the speaker. Where there may be several candidates for peak in a component of the hortatory text, we are considering the generic statement to outweigh the specifics.[16] Just as there is a linear order of conflict situation, command element, and motivation at the sentence level in the two texts under study (as in sentence 3): 'Even though (there are) some people who do not believe [CONFLICT SITUATION], we will increase our faith in Jesus [COMMAND ELEMENT] so that we will receive eternal life [MOTIVATION]', so also this linear pattern (CONFLICT SITUATION ---> COMMAND ELEMENT ---> MOTIVATION) is reflected in the sequence of peaks in the discourse as a whole.

Following Longacre (1976), peak is marked by things such as rhetorical underlining, heightened vividness, change of pace or of vantage point, and orientation. We find such things occurring at the peaks of hortatory discourse, at each point where one of the three questions is answered. We will look at each peak in turn.

In the unmitigated text, the conflict situation peaks at the point where the author answers the first question concerning the wrong situation in sentence 1. Heightened vividness is employed at this point by the author's repetition of the pronoun 'you', 'I hear that as for you, you are always doing bad.'

In the discussion on backbone, we noted that there is a central, generic portion which is the peak, and to which the specifics are accreted. The command element in the unmitigated text peaks at sentence 7, and this peak is marked by rhetorical underlining so that the listener will not miss the point. The rhetorical underlining used here is a preposed topic plus a demonstrative pronoun: 'As for what you are doing, stop that.' At this peak, there is also a shift in orientation, that is, what is encoded as surface structure subject shifts from actor to object, literally from 'you' to 'what you do'.

The motivation peaks in the unmitigated text at the place where the third question is answered, at sentence 11 '...I who am your elder...' Here there is a heightened vividness, that is, the author is expressly showing his authority.

Now, as for the mitigated text, the conflict situation has a peak where the author answers the first question regarding the situation in which one could go wrong. This occurs in sentence 6: 'Tell me if you believe on Jesus.' In Longacre's (1976) discussion of peak, he says that rhetorical questions may be used at peak. Similarly, I am suggesting here that a rhetorical command serves the same function of marking peak in a hortatory discourse.

Just as we noted in the unmitigated text, so also in this text, the command element peaks at the central generic portion which answers the question of what one must do, and to which the specifics are accreted, and which is marked by rhetorical underlining. In sentence 9, the main clause command is followed by a paraphrase or amplification in a purpose clause, 'God's desire is that he will cause all kinds of people to believe so that we will believe on his son Jesus.' The rhetorical underlining is marked by means of the paraphrase. Additional support for considering this to be the peak is that it matches the theme statement that the author gives in sentence 24 (refer to Section 6).

Motivation, which answers the third question, is marked for peak where there is a change in vantage point, that is, through whose eyes we view the story. This occurs in sentence 19, where there is a shift to looking at the text through the author's eyes, which I referred to previously as 'author's comment', 'That's why _I_ am teaching you the law of God...'

In comparing the peaks of these two texts, we find _aggravation_ at the peaks of the unmitigated text in contrast to the _mitigation_ that occurs in the second text. The conflict situation in the first text is directly and overtly stated, 'I hear that you are always doing bad', as contrasted with the rhetorical command, which is the only grammatically overt imperative form in the whole text, at the conflict situation peak in the mitigated text. The command element peak in the unmitigated text is a straightforward imperative with a preposed topic so that the hearer will not miss it, and this contrasts with the equational clause command element peak in the mitigated text. In the unmitigated text, the motivation peaks where the author shows his authority, 'I who am your elder', as contrasted with the author's comment in the second text.

3.5 Structure

3.5.1 Grammatical versus conceptual

In the first text, the semantic conflict situations are mainly expressed by grammatical settings, the command element by main clauses which are imperatives or contain modal imperatives, and the motivation by main clauses of other sorts (that is, evaluations and consequences) or post nuclear subordinate clauses. The first text has minor instances of skew (for example, the conditionals of sentences 9 and 11 could be conditional commands), but the skewing is relatively minor and does not include any skewing not present in the second text. For this reason, we pass on immediately to discussion of the mitigated text.

Near the beginning of the conflict situation setting in this text, in sentences 2 and 3, there is a contrast between those who believe and those who do not believe. This positive and negative contrast is echoed throughout the discourse and forms the basis of the paragraph structure. This contrast of good versus evil also provides cohesion to the discourse as a whole.

The paragraphs in the body of the discourse all have the negative element in the beginning or middle, and end with the positive. That is, the negative occurs in sentences 3, 7, 9, 16, and 21; whereas the positive aspect occurs in sentences 5, 8, 15, 20, and 24.

On the other hand, if we were to analyze this text in terms of theme development, the first theme would be 'believe' and is developed in sentences 1 to 15, and the second theme is 'follow him' and is developed in sentences 16 to 23. Sentences 24 and 25 return again to the first theme. Within each paragraph or unit of theme development, we can have a peak in each of the three areas, which are semantically analogous to the sentence structure of conflict situation, command element, and motivation. Thus, the triple peaks for each unit would occur at the place where the three questions (see Section 4) are answered in the development of that particular theme. For the theme of 'believe', the conflict situation peaks in sentence 6, 'Tell me if you believe on Jesus', and the command element peaks in sentence 9, 'God's desire is that he will cause all kinds of people to believe so that we will believe on his son Jesus', and the motivation peaks in sentence 15 'God will forgive our sins against him'. Then, for the theme of 'follow him', the conflict situation or setting peaks in sentence 20, 'If we will follow him', and the command element peaks in sentences 21 and 22 with the list of things that are forbidden, and the motivation peaks in sentence 23, 'All of that is bad towards God...'

With the analysis of theme development, the shift to a new theme is signalled first in the setting. In narrative, there is a time and place shift in the setting, but in this hortatory, the conflict situation shifts from 'believe' or 'not believe' to 'follow' or 'not follow'. This shift could also be considered to be one of generic to specific, or theological to practical.

If we analyze this text as having the two themes, we find a skewing of the semantic peaks with respect to the grammatical units. That is, the text may have two themes, but the grammatical paragraphs do not line up with it. The paragraph structure, as we noted in the first part of this section, is based on positive and negative contrasts, but the semantics consist of do believe and don't sin (or, don't do the forbidden things). There is a skewing between the conceptual structure and the tree structure. A rationale for this skew seems to be that many people can easily say 'I believe' but they are quite unwilling to stop sinning, and the author wants to make sure that they understand the implications of believing.

Although this idea of a double theme development seemed attractive at first, I am rejecting it at present because 'following' is implicit in or nearly synonymous with 'believing', and because the theme development is not reflected in the surface structure tree but seems rather forced, and because the macro-structure (see Section 3.6) better accounts for what occurs in the backbone of this text. Thus, the analysis presented in this paper is preferred.

3.5.2 Negative-positive prominence

There is a chiastic relation between the relative prominence of the positive and negative elements in the two texts analyzed in this paper.[17] As one progresses through the text, the one element becomes more prominent and the other becomes less prominent. In comparing the two texts, we find a reversal of what is prominent. That is, the unmitigated text starts negative, and the negative decreases and the positive increases as one progresses through the text. But the mitigated text starts positive, and the positive decreases and the negative increases as one progresses through it. In diagramming the positive and negative prominence we have a chiastic relationship in prominence, as shown in Figure 7.

POSITIVE INCREASE	NEGATIVE DECREASE
	1. O Bagungen, I am sending my letter to you because I hear that you are always doing bad.
	2. This is what I am saying to you:
	3. Don't always be fighting with our companions.
	4. And don't always be womanizing.
	5. And don't flirt with the wife of your companion or the wife of another person.
	6. That is bad.
	7. As for what you are doing, stop that.
8. This [instead] is what you ought to do, namely, just your working of the earth so that you will live.	
	9. If you will always be doing bad, you will perish, you will be stabbed by people.
	10. Therefore stop that.
	11. Now, if you will not obey what I am saying, I who am your elder, you will be punished as if you are just a child.
12. This is what you ought to show to all our companions, namely, the good things, and to all other people also so that their feelings towards you will be good also so that you will not also perish.	

Figure 5. Comparison of positive and negative in unmitigated text

POSITIVE DECREASE	NEGATIVE INCREASE
1. As for all of us, the word of God will be heard. 2. As for us who believe, our hearts are good now.	
	3a. Even though some do not believe
3b. we will increase our faith 4. we will give our hearts to Jesus. 5. We who are his people have fellowship.	
6. Tell me if you believe on Jesus.	
	7. If Satan is the one you follow, we will be separated.
8. If we are with Jesus, we will not have difficulty.	
	9. O my companions who have not yet heard God's Word...God wants all people to believe.
EXPOSITION 10 to 13 14. ...so we will follow Jesus. 15. God will forgive our sins.	
	16. If we do not follow Jesus, our sins will not be removed. 17. We will die of sickness... 18. Many bad things will come to us.
19. That's why I am teaching you God's law. 20. If we follow him, we will live.	
	21. Many are the things he forbids us, we will refuse to 1, 2, 3. 22. We will refuse to 4, 5. 23. That is bad, ...that is sin against God.
24. This is what to believe: God, Jesus, Holy Spirit who dwells with us...	
25. That's my words telling of your way to believe.	

Figure 6. Comparison of positive and negative in mitigated text

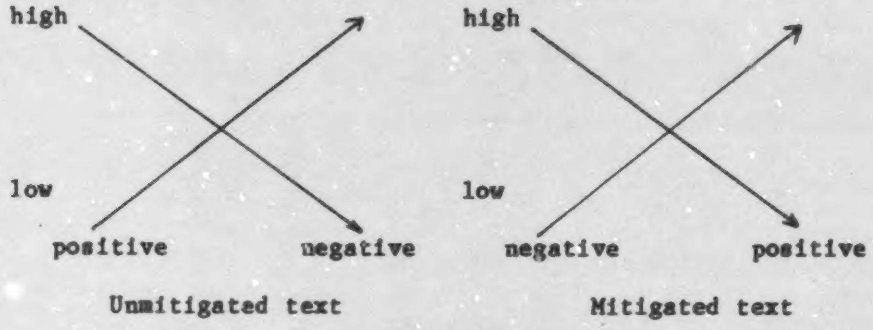
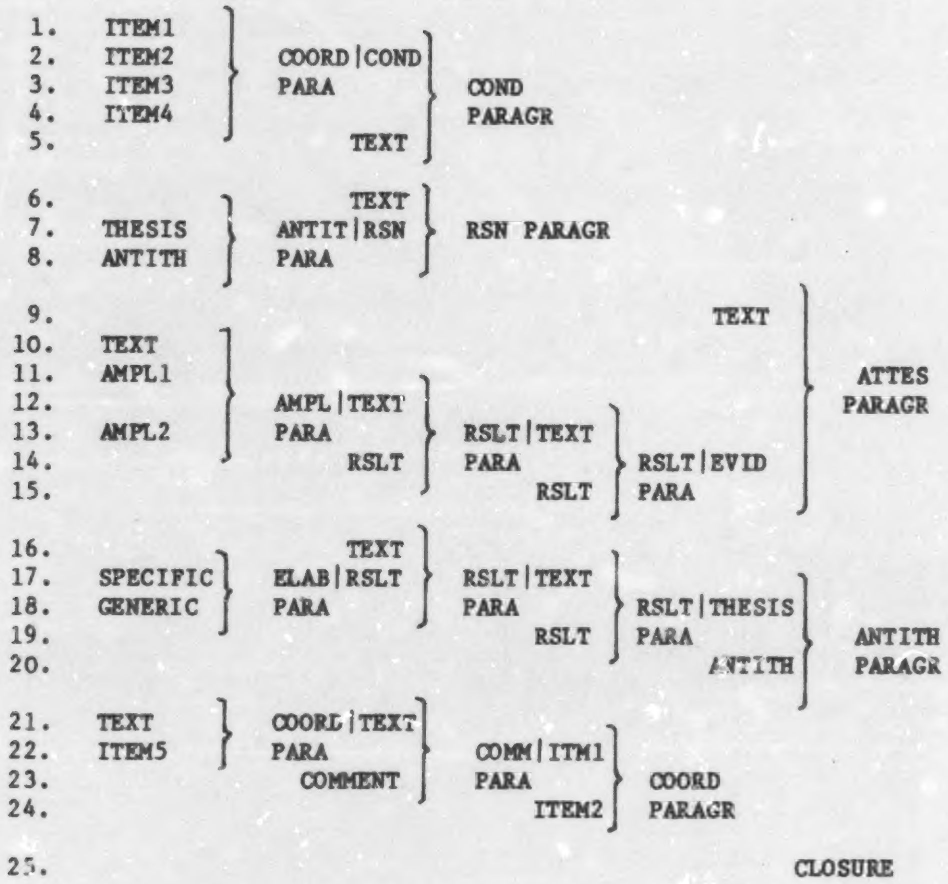


Figure 7. Chiastic relationship in prominence

3.5.3 Topic line and paragraph structure

One of the problems encountered in analyzing the mitigated text was that of showing its grammatical hierarchical structure, and how the topic line related to that structure. The analysis presented here is a slightly modified version of Longacre's (1980) apparatus for paragraph types, in that this analysis is a bottom-up analysis, whereas Longacre presents a top-down analysis. We also found that the primary topic line fairly closely matched the text of the text of the text[18] clauses in the paragraph hierarchical structure. A secondary topic line can cut across paragraph structure to highlight a clause or sentence that is significant to the development of the text but is subordinate to the immediate paragraph constituents. This seems to be equivalent to what Beekman and colleagues have referred to as 'marked prominence', in that something that normally would be subordinate is given added prominence because of the significance it has to the overall text. Sentence 19 in this text is an example of a prominent secondary topic.

Figure 8 presents the current state of our analysis of the mitigated text, with the realization that the analysis may change at some future time. In Figure 8 the sentence numbers of the text are at the left margin, and the construction-role relationship of the labels are marked with a vertical line (for example, construction-role means that the higher level role is filled by the lower level construction).


1.
2.
3.
4.
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7.
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9.
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11.
12.
13.
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15.
16.
17.
18.
19.
20.
21.
22.
23.
24.
25.
ITEM1
ITEM2
ITEM3
ITEM4
COORD|COND PARA
TEXT
COND PARAGR
TEXT
THESIS
ANTITH
ANTIT|RSN PARA
RSN PARAGR
TEXT
TEXT
AMPL1
AMPL2
AMPL|TEXT PARA
RSLT
RSLT|TEXT PARA
RSLT
RSLT|EVID PARA
ATTES PARAGR
TEXT
SPECIFIC
GENERIC
ELAB|RSLT PARA
RSLT|TEXT PARA
RSLT
RSLT|THESIS PARA
ANTITH
ANTITH PARAGR
TEXT
ITEM5
COORD|TEXT PARA
COMMENT
COMM|ITM1 PARA
ITEM2
COORD PARAGR
CLOSURE

COORD = Coordinate
COND = Conditional
PARA = Embedded paragraphs
PARAGR = Paragraphs
ANTIT = Antithesis
RSN = Reason
AMPL = Amplification

ATTES = Attestation
RSLT = Result
EVID = Evidence
ELAB = Elaboration
COMM = Comment
ITM = Item

Figure 8. Mitigated text paragraph structure

The topic line can be constructed from the text of the text of the text of the paragraph structure. So, for this mitigated hortatory, Figure 9 is a tentative topic line development of this text. In Figure 9 coordinate and antithetical texts are both listed because they are of equal weight, the primary topic believe is underlined in its various occurrences. We assume that 'follow' is equivalent to 'believe'. Because of the anaphoric 'if so' clause of sentence 5 we are listing here what is referred to by that clause. It seems fair to assume that 'believe' is the main topic line here because of the author's closing theme statement.

we hear the word
we hearts are good
we increase our faith
we give hearts to Jesus

5. If so, we have fellowship

6. Tell me if you believe

9. God's desire is that...we believe on Jesus

16. If we won't follow, our sins will not be removed
20. If we follow, we will live

21. Many are the things forbidden
24. Our right believing is...

Figure 9. Mitigated text topic line

3.6 Macro-structure

By means of the macro-structure, the speaker is driving at a change of behavior. In this analysis of these hortatory texts, I consider the macro-structure to consist of the central generic portion of the backbone (peak), plus a motivation statement of the intended result. The hearer can achieve the macro-structure goal by fulfilling the specific backbone elements that are accreted to the peak. Schematically, my concept of macro-structure is represented by the diagram in Figure 10 which shows that the specifics are accreted to, or support, the peak.

In the unmitigated text the macro-structure is based on sentences 7 and 8 and their implied antonyms, namely, 'Stop the bad that you are doing so that you will live (implying: do good so that you will not perish).' This goal can be achieved by fulfilling the specifics, namely the three don'ts of sentences 3, 4, and 5, and working the land (sentence 8), and doing good to others (sentence 12).

In the mitigated hortatory, the macro-structure occurs in paragraph 3, where the command element peaks in sentence 9. A simple statement of the macro-structure for this text would be: 'God wants all people to believe on Jesus so that our sins will be forgiven.' The hearer can achieve this goal by doing the things in the backbone, namely by increasing his faith in Jesus (sentence 3), giving his heart to Jesus (sentence 4), and by refusing to do the bad things listed (sentences 21,22).

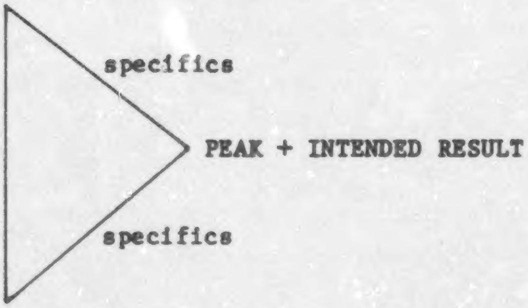

Figure 10. Specifics support the peak

4. Conclusion

In this paper, we have noted three primary effects of mitigation in hortatory discourse. These are:

(1) a shift in person from second person to first person inclusive forms
(2) a shift from doing to being wrong
(3) a shift from overt free commands to commands that are implied by the files from conditional sentences, where the 'if' clause provides the content of the command and the 'then' clause provides the negative or positive force of the command.

Although not found in these Manobo texts, it is also possible to have commands implied by the files from:

(a) evaluations, where the content comes from the predicate or subject and the polarity comes from the subject or predicate,
(b) sentences such as 'A good American does X.'

This study of the ways in which hortatory discourse in Manobo can be mitigated has implications for the Manobo translation of scripture, especially where mitigated hortatory occurs such as in I John. Consequently, it also has implications for other linguists and translators to examine hortatory discourse in the languages with which they are working.

NOTES

[1] This study of hortatory text and this paper is the result of a linguistic workshop on discourse analysis conducted by Dr. Robert E. Longacre from June 14 until August 13, 1982 at the study center of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Nasuli, Malaybalay, Bukidnon, Philippines. I am very much indebted to Dr. Austin Hale of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, who provided much of the theoretical material found in this paper, and who gave much valuable help in the preparation of this paper.

[2] Cotabato Manobo is a Philippine language spoken by some ten to fifteen thousand Manobo people living in the province of Sultan Kudarat on the island of Mindanao. The language area extends along the coast and inland about 15 miles with the Tran River as its approximate northern boundary and the town of Milbuk as its approximate southern boundary. The author began field work in Limulan, Kalamansig in 1976 under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

[3] The author is indebted to Mr. Pidal Utub for the unmitigated hortatory text which was written in 1976. Mr. Utub, who was about 50 years of age at that time, is a Manobo datû or chieftain. This text was elicited by E. Clay Johnston of the Summer Institute of Linguistics who did field work among the Manobo people intermittently between 1964 and 1978.

[4] The author is indebted to Mr. Dasul Gansing for this second text that was written in 1975. Mr. Gansing, who was about 30 years of age at that time, has achieved a fifth grade education in the public school and is one of the most literate Manobos in the area. This text was elicited by E. Clay Johnston of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, prior to the author's beginning his fieldwork in 1976.

[5] Backbone is a generalization of Grimes' narrative-based concept of eventline (Grimes 1975:82-100).

[6] An alternative analysis would be to have a cline of grammatical forms ranging from most dynamic to static. At the top of this cline would be imperative forms (being the most dynamic), followed by first person plural future action verbs, equational clauses, conditional and purpose clauses.

[7] In my attempt to analyze this text as a descriptive expository discourse type, I encountered problems in trying to chart it as topic and comment. Things that did not fit into the charting include the rhetorical command in sentence 6, the future action verbs of sentences 3, 4, 21, and 22 that seem to be more like semantic imperatives than description, the evaluative comments in sentence 23, and the triple layering that is found, as in sentence 3. Also, I attempted to classify this as a persuasive discourse with a hortatory intent, but encountered the problem of not having a straightforward persuasive text in the corpus of Manobo texts to use as a point of reference in comparing this text, as well as the problem of the distinction between persuasion with hortatory intent discourse type and mitigated hortatory type not being clearly defined. Thus, it seemed simplest at present to consider this text as a mitigated hortatory.

[8] The term 'files' originated with Curtis McFarland, and was further described in 'A Discourse Pecking Order' (Hale, in press). The files constitute the system whereby information accretes to a given concept or referential entity as a discourse progresses. In hortatory discourse, commands are instances of this kind of file entity, just as participants and events are file entities in narratives.

The trees comprise the hierarchical surface structure of a discourse, including not only the clearly grammatical structures of sentences, but also the higher level interrelations between sentences within paragraphs and between paragraphs within higher level structures. Since a paragraph may be said to have a tree structure and a sentence also has a tree, we speak of the trees of a discourse in the plural and not simply as 'the tree' in the singular.

From this point of view, then, we can say that files are a system by which commands are inferred by the hearer where the commands are camouflaged in the trees. The files have other functions as well, especially those involved in linking new information to old during the process of speaking or hearing. In hortatory discourse, the implied commands are reconstructed from the files, because there is a backbone which, among other things, is also a topic line. If the discourse has significance, at the end of the discourse the speaker has answered the question, 'What have I told you?' At that point, if the listener has understood the discourse, he must access the if-then clauses and retrieve the commands that the files have formed from the if-then clauses. The files are organized topically, so that information regarding a prop, participant, command, etc. is accessible.

[9] Polarity is the negative or positive force that is applied to the content of the command.

[10] Narrative definitions of events along semantic lines are considered as the backbone element of narrative discourse. Examples that led to this conclusion include the clause 'the dove did not return' being considered an event in the Flood Story narrative, even though by the narrow definition of event, this should not be an event because the action did not actually occur. This negative statement does constitute a step forward within the Flood narrative since it was the positive outcome of a test as to the feasibility of disembarking from the ark.

[11] An alternative analysis would have given added weight to the semantics and would have included the clauses with implied commands in the command element column. That analysis would perhaps result in a cline of command forms ranging from most dynamic to static, that is, from imperatives to future action verbs to equational clauses to conditional and/or purpose clauses.

[12] The shift from second person to first person is found in other languages as well, such as in Western Bukidnon Manobo, where according to Elkins, a Manobo chieftain would use 'we women' when addressing a group of women.

[13] By positive polarity, we mean that the command whose content is to be found in the *if* clause is to be interpreted positively, e.g. for the condition '...if we are grouped with Jesus', a positive interpretation as a command is 'Be grouped with Jesus' and a negative interpretation would be 'Don't be grouped with Jesus.' The fact that the *then* clause contains a negative is irrelevant. The fact that the *then* clause is a positively valued consequence, one to be desired, however, is quite relevant to the claim that it requires a positive interpretation of the *if* clause as a command, rather than a negative one.

[14] We take this to be a rhetorical command since it does not expect a response from the audience, and so is distinguished from a real command which does require a behavioral response.

[15] Focused object pronouns are different in form from focused actor pronouns. The focused item in a clause is not only marked by means of affixes on the verb, but also by the focused pronoun used. The normal pairing is for an object focused verb to focus on a focused object pronoun, but in this sentence an object focused verb focuses on a focused actor pronoun.

[16] This assumption is based on Beekman and Callow's prominence being given to the generic element in a generic-specific relationship, and our belief that the peak is the generic topic to which the specifics are accreted.

[17] A similar relative prominence of positive and negative elements was found in another hortatory text not specifically analyzed in this paper.

[18] According to Longacre in personal communication, this is also what Richard Watson claimed in his dissertation on expository discourse in Pacoh.

APPENDICES

The following are the abbreviations used in the gloss of the interlinear texts:

general:

sg.	singular
pl.	plural
ex.	exclusive
inc.	inclusive

with verbs:

CFA	circumstantial, future, actor focus
CFG	circumstantial, future, goal focus
CFI	circumstantial, future, instrument focus

with pronouns:

FA	focused actor
FO	focused object
FP	focused possessor

with verbs (cont.)

CFO	circumstantial, future, object focus
CNA	circumstantial, neutral, actor focus
CNG	circumstantial, neutral, goal focus
CNI	circumstantial, neutral, instrument focus
CNO	circumstantial, neutral, object focus
CPA	circumstantial, past, actor focus
CPG	circumstantial, past, goal focus
CPI	circumstantial, past, instrument focus
CPO	circumstantial, past, object focus
FA	future, actor focus
FG	future, goal focus
FO	future, object focus
GF	goal focus
NA	neutral, actor focus
NG	neutral, goal focus
NI	neutral/future, instrument focus
NO	neutral, object focus
OF	object focus
PA	past, actor focus
PG	past, goal focus
PI	past, instrument focus
PO	past, object focus
RCF	reciprocal, future
RCN	reciprocal, neutral
RCP	reciprocal, past
RF	repetitive, future
RN	repetitive, neutral
RP	repetitive, past

with pronouns (cont.)

FT	topic
NA	nonfocused actor
NO	nonfocused object
NP	nonfocused possessor

other (not affixes):

AP	alternative particle
DET	determiner
DP	demonstrative particle
LP	locative particle
NP	negative particle
PT	miscellaneous particle
PRT	miscellaneous particle
RP	reason particle

other affixes:

ADJ	adjective
CA	causative
DIS	distributive
GR	gerund
HAB	habitual
IMP	imperative
PGR	past gerund
RC	reciprocal
SRC	search for

Appendix A: Unmitigated Hortatory Text

By Pidal Utub

1. O Bagungen, ig.pe.uwit ku sa sulat
oh Bagungen PI.CA.take I.NA DET write

ku diyà keniko enù ka eg.dineg.en
my.NP to/at you.sg.NO because RP NO.hear.OF

ku kuna takà ka eg.bael
I.NA you.sg.FT repeatedly you.sg.FA NA.do

me.daet. 2. Iya sa eg-ikagi.yen ku diyà
ADJ.bad that DET NO.speak.OF I.NA to/at

keniko. 3. Yaka takà ka eg.ginalu sa
you.sg.NO don't repeatedly [illegible] NA.fight DET

1. Dear Bagungen, I have sent my letter to you because I hear that you are always doing bad. 2. This is what I am saying to you: 3. Don't always be fighting with our companions. 4. And don't always be looking for women. 5. And don't flirt with the wife of your companion or the wife of another person.

me.doo duma ta. 4. Owoy yaka
ADJ.many companion our.inc.NP and don't

takà ya eg.pig.bayi. 5. Owoy yaka
repeatedly NP NA.SRC.woman and don't

eg.pelinggà ya sa sawa duma ko
NA.flirt NP DET spouse companion your.sg.NP

owoy sa sawa etaw ma. 6. Me.daet iya wé.
and DET spouse person also ADJ.bad that DP

7. Sa eg.bael.an ko sabuh.i ko
DET NG.do.GF you.sg.NA cease.IMP you.sg.NA

iya wé. 8. Iya daa sa bael.i ko sa
that DP that only DET do.IMP you.sg.NA DET

ke.galebek ko daa tanà anì
GR.work your.sg.NP only earth so.that

me.hagtay yu. 9. Amuk taka.en
CFO.live you.pl.FA if repeatedly.FG

ko m.ael sa me.doo me.daet,
you.sg.NA FA.do DET ADJ.many ADJ.bad

meke.sugsug ka dilek.en ka etaw
CFA.perish you.sg.FA stab.FO you.sg.FA person

wa. 10. Huenan di, sabuh.i ko iya
PT therefore RP cease.IMP you.sg.NA that

wé. 11. Na, amuk endà pigtuu.wen ko duu
DP now if not obey.FO you.sg.NA NP

sa eg-ikagi.yen ku aken i lukes
DET NO.speak.CF I.NA I.FT DET old.person

ko, me.tepù ka kuna ya
your.sg.NP CFO.afflicted you.sg.FA you.sg.FT PT

batà daa. 12. Iya polo sa pe.hau.wi
child only that instead DET CA.see.IMP

ko diyà sa langun duma ta,
you.sg.NA to/at DET all companion our.inc.NP

sa me.pion, owoy sa me.doo etaw ma
DET ADJ.good and DET ADJ.many person also

6. That is bad. 7. As for what you are doing, stop that. 8. This (instead) is what you ought to do, namely just your working of the earth so that you will live. 9. If you will always be doing bad things, you will perish by disaster, you will be stabbed by people. 10. Therefore, stop that. 11. Now, if you will not obey what I am saying, I who am your elder, you will be punished, as if you are only a child. 12. This instead is what you ought to show to all our companions, namely the good things, and to all other people also so that their feelings towards you will be good also so that you also will not perish.

anî me.pion ma sa pedu da
so.that ADJ.good also DET gallbladder their.NP

diyâ keniko anî endâ meke.sugsug
to/at you.sg.NO so.that not CFA.perish

ka ma.
you.sg.FA also

Appendix B: Mitigated Hortatory Text

Title: Your Way to Believe
By Dasul Gansing

1. Na, sa langun ke.doo ta
now DET all GR.many our.inc.NP

me.dineg sa kagi sa emà ta si
CPO.hear DET word DET father our.inc.NP DET

Nemula eg-ugpà langit dò. 2. Me.pion ini
God NA.stay sky LP ADJ.good this

egoh di sa pedu ta langun
occasion PT DET gallbladder our.inc.NP all

ta eg.pigtuu. 3. Apiya sa etaw
we.inc.NA NA.believe even.though DET person

endâ eg.pigtuu uman.an ta sa
not NA.believe increase.FG we.inc.NA DET

ke.pigtuu ta diyâ si Hésus anî
GR.believe our.inc.NP to/at DET Jesus so.that

s.um.akem ki sa lalù ta endâ
FA.receive we.inc.FA DET life our.inc.NP not

me.elut di. 4. Owoy sa pedu
CPO.end he/she.NA and DET gallbladder

ta i.begay ta diyâ si Hésus
our.inc.NP NI.give we.inc.NA to/at DET Jesus

anî meke.sakem ki sa tunung
so.that CFA.receive we.inc.FA DET power

di. 5. Amuk hediya, eg.se.amut.ay
his/her.NP if that NA.RC.mix.RC

1. Now, as for all of our number, the word of our Father God who dwells in heaven will be heard. 2. Our hearts are good now, as for all of us who believe. 3. Even though (there are) some people who do not believe, we will increase our faith in Jesus so that we will receive our life without end. 4. And as for our hearts, we will give (them) to Jesus so that we will be able to receive his power. 5. If that is so, we have fellowship, we who are his people on earth.

ki kita i hadi
we.inc.FA we.inc.FT DET younger.sibling

di diyà tanà.
his/her.NP to/at earth

6. Ikagi yu ma diyà kenak
speak.IMP you.pl.NA also to/at me.NO

amuk eg.pigtuu yu diyà si Hésus.
if NA.believe you.pl.FA to/at DET Jesus

7. Amuk si Séyten sa kenà yu
if DET Satan DET place your.pl.NP

eg.pigtuu mese.palak ki. 8. Iya
NA.believe RCF.separate we.inc.FA that

maen di ya amuk diyà ki dé si
reason RP PT if to/at we.inc.FA already DET

Hésus, endà dé h.um.alî ki anî
Jesus not already FA.change we.inc.FA so.that

endà duen sa ke.likut.an ta.
not exist DET GR.difficult.FG our.inc.NP

9. O me.doo duma ku endà pa
oh ADJ.many companion my.NP not still

eg.dineg sa kagi i Nemula sa egoh di
NA.hear DET word DET God DET when he/she.NA

eg.pe.angay sa anak di si Hésus
NA.CA.go DET child his/her.NP DET Jesus

diyà siini tanà ta, sa ungayà i
to/at this earth our.inc.NP DET desire DET

Nemula pe.pigtuu.wen di sa langun
God CA.believe.FO he/she.NA DET all

balangan etaw diyà tanà anî pigtuu.wen
variety person to/at earth so.that believe.FO

ta sa anak di si Hésus.
we.inc.NA DET child his/her.NP DET Jesus

10. Kagdi sa eg.bayad sa salà sa langun
he/she.FT DET NA.pay DET sin DET all

6. Tell me if you believe on Jesus.
7. If Satan is the one whom you obey, we will be separated.
8. Because if we are (grouped) with Jesus, we will never be changed so that we will not have difficulty.

9. O my companions who have not yet heard the word of God of when he sent his son Jesus to this earth of ours, God's desire is that he will cause all kinds of people on earth to believe so that we will believe on his son Jesus.
10. He is the one who pays for the sins of all people on earth.
11. Not only ours.
12. (But) all people on the face of the earth. 13. What he used in saving (us) of our sins was their killing Jesus because of his having paid for our sins against God.
14. That's why so that

etaw diyà tanà. 11. Beken kita daa.
person to/at earth not we.inc.FT only

12. Sa langun etaw diyà s.in.ukub langit.
DET all person to/at PO.cover sky

13. Iya sa ig-aluk di sa salà
that DET PI.save he/she.NA DET sin

ta sa egoh di in.imatay.an da si
our.inc.NP DET when PT PG.kill.GF they.NA DET

Hésus danà di mig.bayad salà
Jesus result he/she.FA PA.pay sin

ta diyà si Nemula. 14. Iya maen di
our.inc.NP to/at DET God that reason RP

ya anì m.angunut ki diyà si Hésus.
PT so.that FA.follow we.inc.FA to/at DET Jesus

15. Amuk hediya, pe.lanih.en i Nemula sa
if that CA.smooth.FO DET God DET

pedu di diyà sa me.doo salà
gallbladder his/her.NP to/at DET ADJ.many sin

ta diyà kagdi.
our.inc.NP to/at him/her.FO

16. Amuk endà m.angunut ki sa kagi
if not FA.follow we.inc.FA DET word

i Hésus, endà me.kedan sa me.doo salà
DET Jesus not CFO.remove DET ADJ.many sin

ta. 17. Iya sa t.um.ebow diyà
our.inc.NP that DET FA.arrive to/at

kenita me.matay ki linadu owoy
us.inc.NO CFO.die we.inc.FA sick and

dilek.en ki. 18. Me.doo me.daet
stab.FO we.inc.FA ADJ.many ADJ.bad

t.um.ebow diyà kenita. 19. Iya maen di ya
FA.arrive to/at us.inc.NO that reason RP PT

eg.tulu.en ku kiyu sa uledin i
NO.teach.OF I.NA you.pl.FO DET law DET

we will follow Jesus. 15. If that is so, God will forgive our sins against him.

[illegible] If we won't follow the word of Jesus, our sins will not be removed. 17. That is what will come to us, namely we will die of sickness and we will be stabbed. 18. Many are the bad things that will come to us. 19. That is why I am teaching you the law of God which makes hearts good. 20. If we will follow him, we will live.

Nemula meke.pion pedu. 20. Amuk m.angunut
God CFA.good gallbladder if FA.follow

ki diyà kagdi, k.um.e.lalû
we.inc.FA to/at him/her.FO FA.GR.life

ki.
we.inc.FA

21. Me.doo sa eg.hawid.an di
ADJ.many DET NG.command.GF he/she.NA

diyà kenita, m.eked ki m.ulit,
to/at us.inc.NO FA.refuse we.inc.FA FA.angry

m.eked ki m.enakaw, m.eked
FA.refuse we.inc.FA FA.steal FA.refuse

ki ma um.agaw sa sawa duma
we.inc.FA also FA.steal DET spouse companion

ta. 22. M.eked ki eg.butbut
our.inc.NP FA.refuse we.inc.FA NA.lie

owoy m.eked ki ma eg.selapan sa
and FA.refuse we.inc.FA also NA.play DET

sawa duma ta. 23. Anan endâ
spouse companion our.inc.NP all not

me.pion iya wé diyà si Nemula, anan salà
ADJ.good that DP to/at DET God all sin

ta iya wé diyà si Nemula. 24. Iya
our.inc.NP that DP to/at DET God that

sa ne.sugat ke.pigtuu ta sa muna
DET CPO.target GR.believe our.inc.NP DET first

si Nemula, sa ke.duwa di si Hésus,
DET God DET GR.two his/her.NP DET Jesus

sa ke.telu di sa Me.tiengaw Suguy
DET GR.three his/her.NP DET ADJ.clear spirit

i Nemula eg-ugpà diyà kenita amuk tuu
DET God NA.stay to/at us.inc.NO if true

sa ke.pigtuu ta diyà kagdi.
DET GR.believe our.inc.NP to/at him/her.FO

21. Many are the things he forbids us: we will refuse to be angry, we will refuse to steal, we will also refuse to steal our companion's spouse. 22. We will refuse to tell lies and we will also refuse to play around with our companion's spouse. 23. All of that is bad towards God, all of that is sin against God. 24. This is our right/correct believing: first God, secondly Jesus, thirdly the Holy Spirit of God who dwells in us if our faith in him is true.

25. Na, iya daa sa kagi ku eg.tulon
now that only DET word my.NP NA.tell

sa ukit ke.pigtuu yu.
DET way GR.believe your.pl.NP

25. Now, that is all of my words telling of the way of your believing.

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